

SPEECHES
OF
THE EARL OF DURHAM,
DELIVERED AT
PUBLIC MEETINGS
IN
S C O T L A N D,
IN
1834.

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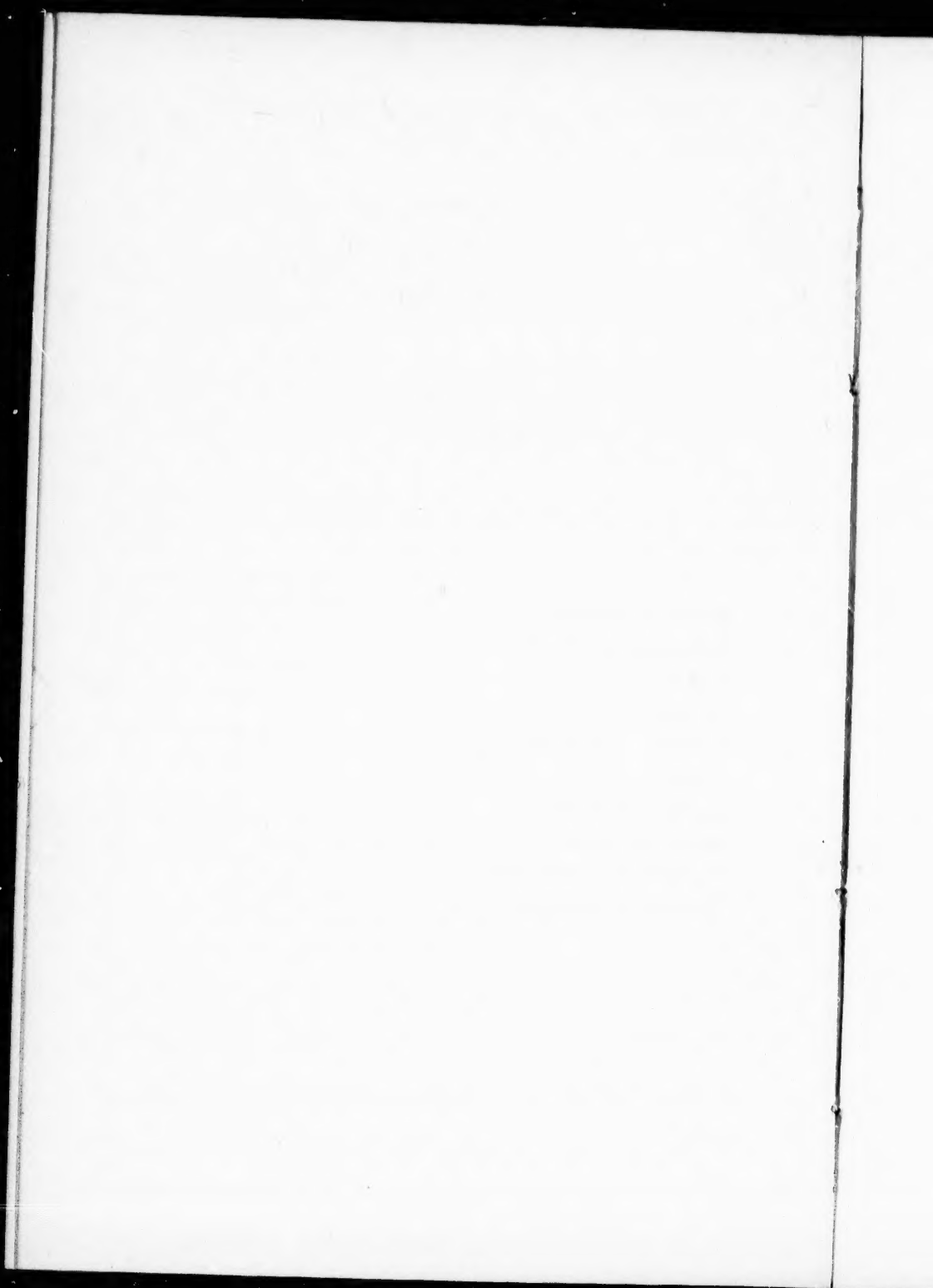
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SPEECH

AT THE DINNER GIVEN IN

EDINBURGH,

To EARL GREY, on the 15th of September, 1834, after the Lord Advocate had proposed the health of "The Earl of Durham and the Reformers of England."

GENTLEMEN,—It is quite impossible for me to express to you adequately the gratification I have derived, the heartfelt pleasure I have experienced, in witnessing the splendid scene this day. It is, indeed, a noble tribute paid to my illustrious relative, one of which he may justly be proud, but of which I need say no more, than that he has acknowledged it in terms which do honour to his heart, and justice to his eloquence. But highly as I estimate this appropriate tribute, this great act of national justice rendered to an illustrious statesman, I agree with my honourable friend in thinking that this meeting is also valuable for public reasons, and on public

grounds. How often have we been told by Tory authorities—you must allow me to make use of that expression; they seem to have become ashamed of it themselves, and to have departed from it,—how often have we been told that the spirit of reform was dying away, that liberal feelings were no longer predominant; and, as my noble friend said, that the day was fast approaching when the people of England would return as repentant sinners to their abandoned home of Toryism, to be received in the open arms of their forgiving Tory masters? I ask you, do the proceedings of this day indicate any such wanton abandonment of their inestimable privileges? (“No, no!”) The popular “gathering” of this day, if I may use a Scottish expression, proves, that the best and most influential of Scotland, not perhaps the majority of the nobility of this country, because, without their tickets being countersigned at Dunbar, they could not come, are present at this magnificent festival. If, at this gathering, we miss the presence of those illustrious Tories, and their veteran leader, we have here the representatives, I mean the Provosts and Magistrates, of the commerce and industry of all the great towns of Scotland; all this tells us a very different tale from that which the Tories would tell us; and is full of generous anticipation for the free, and independent, and liberal people of Scotland (Cheers); and so would it be in every part of the empire, were an occasion offered of eliciting

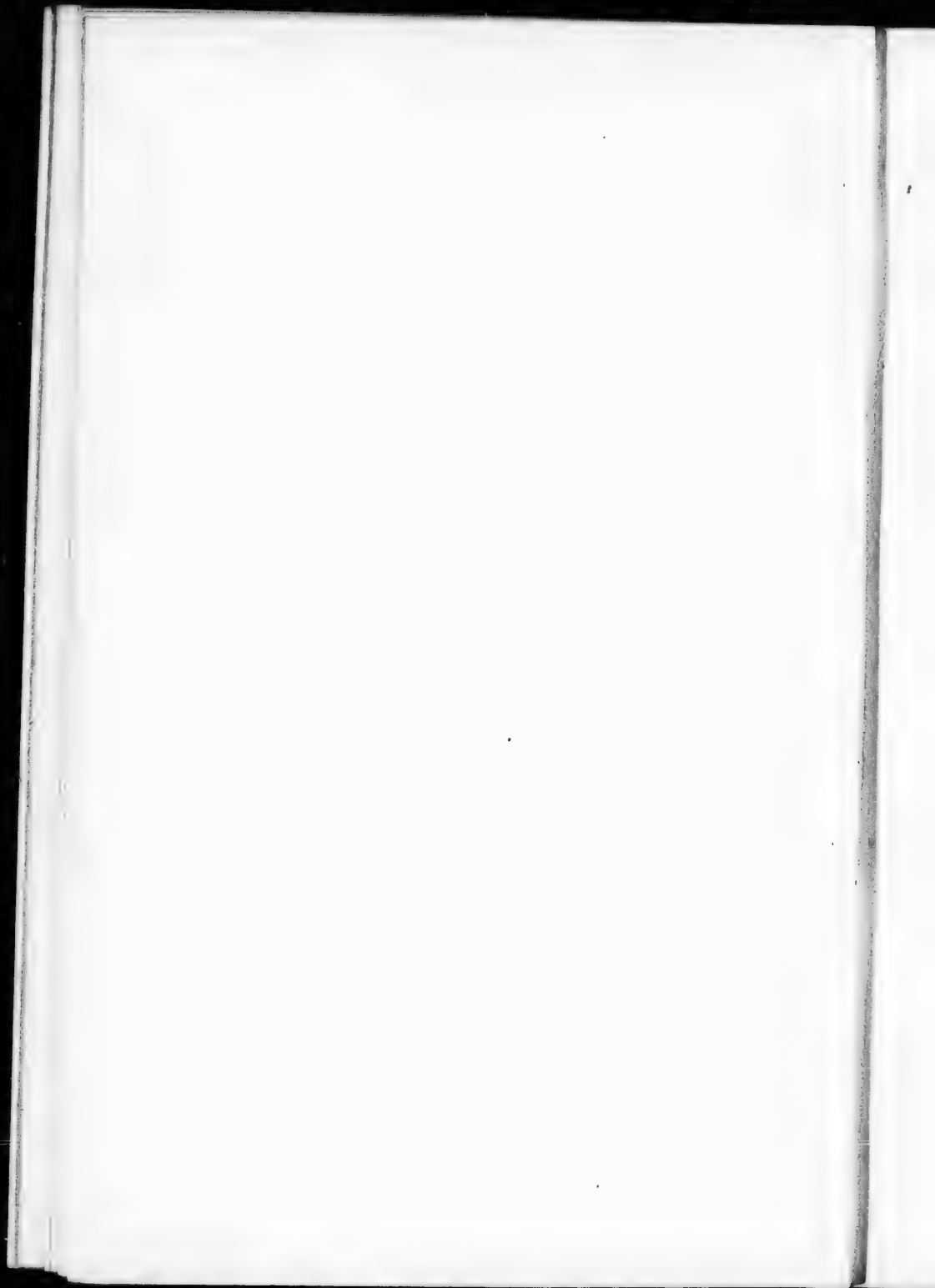
the sentiments of the people of this country. It is true, we have no longer to make the same exertion, as when we struggled for the Reform Bill; but no man shall tell me that our feelings and principles are not the same. (Cheering.) How foolish to imagine that the great tide of improvement can be arrested in its progress, or that it will cease to flow with a resistless progress. It is true, the barriers and obstacles have been removed, and the waves flow in a more even channel; the tumult has been arrested, but the depth, the power, the all-conquering energies still remain, and, if roused into action, must be omnipotent. (Great cheering.) I ought to apologise for taking up so much of your time. (Cries of "No, no," and cheers.) I must beg you then to accept my best thanks for the cordial reception given me, and for the high honour conferred upon me, by connecting my name with that of Reform. The transcendent talents of my friends around me amply justify any homage that is paid to them; but how can I repay the meed of approbation which you have bestowed on me? I acknowledge the immeasurable superiority of my noble friends; but in one respect I will not yield to them, nor to any man—in attachment to the liberties of my country (Cheering,) and in a firm uncompromising determination ever to strengthen and maintain its institutions. My learned friend, the Lord Advocate, has been pleased to refer to my public services. I have now been more than twenty

years in public life, and during the whole of that period I have ever felt it to be a duty and a pleasure to act with my noble relative whom you are honouring this night, differing from him occasionally, as all men do, who have any pretensions to independence, but following him steadily in the great objects of his political life. I will tell you what those objects have been; at least, what I believe they were meant to be—effective, unflinching, but safe and practical reform; the correction of all abuses: the upholding of the just privileges of the Crown, and the true rights of the nobility, but at the same time the extension of the privileges of the people, and their adaptation, as my noble friend has observed, to the increased and increasing intelligence of the age. (Great cheering.) I know very well that there are some conscientious people who differ from us; but, in my humble judgment, these are the best and indeed the only means by which can be maintained that security to property, that protection to industry, and that permanence in the institutions of the country, which are, all united, so essential to the prosperity of this country. (Great cheering.) I am aware that there are men who feel considerable apprehension from the increasing privileges given to classes who have not hitherto enjoyed them. I feel no such distrust. They have proportionally as much at stake as we have; they are as much interested in the preservation of tranquillity as we are. (Cheers.) I look at their industry and in-

telligence, and I repose with perfect confidence in their conduct (Cheering); but, be that as it may, I contend that it was necessary that the experiment should be made. In early times, government went on without a people; in the next period, they went on in despite of the people; and now the experiment has been tried whether it cannot go on with the people. (Cheering.) In my conscience I believe that it will, and that you may depend on their cordial and affectionate co-operation in preserving all institutions most valuable to the country. One word more, and I have done. My noble and learned friend, the Lord Chancellor, has been pleased to give some sound advice to certain classes of persons, of whom, I confess, I know nothing, except that they are persons whom he considers as evincing too much impatience. I will freely own to you, that I am one of those who see with regret every hour which passes over the existence of acknowledged but unreformed abuses. (Rapturous applause.) I am, however, and have no doubt you are also, willing to accept their correction as deliberately as our rulers would wish; but it must be upon one condition, that every measure be proposed in strict conformity with the principles for which we have ever contended. I object to the compromise of principles. I do not object to the deliberation with which reforms are conducted: but I object to the compromise of principles. (Cheering.) I object to the clipping, and the paring, and the mu-

tilating, which must inevitably follow any attempt to conciliate enemies, who are not to be gained, (Great cheering,) and who will requite your advances by pointing out your inconsistency, your abandonment of your friends and principles; and then ascribe the discontent created in our own ranks by these proceedings, to the decay of liberal feelings in the country. Against such a course of proceeding I must ever protest, (Cheering,) as pregnant with the worst consequences, as exciting distrust and discontent, where enthusiastic devotion is necessary, as creating vain hopes, which never can be realized; and above all, as placing weapons in the hands of those, who will only use them for our destruction, and that of the great and important interests committed to our charge. With this frank and free exposition of my sentiments, which I have never concealed wherever I have been, and which I never will conceal, I beg to state, that I am ready to grant the admitted extent in deliberating which my noble friend and the ministers may require, to place confidence in their declarations of this night, which I am sure will give an earnest of tranquillity to the country, which perhaps it does not now possess, and to afford them that support which an humble individual like myself can give them. When the list of toasts was placed in my hands this morning, I found that the committee had assigned to me one of such great importance, that you will not deem it disrespectful of me, if I assure

you that at the notice of a few hours I am not adequate to do it justice, considering the important interests and the extent of the excitement which prevails in Ireland. It is the great question of the day, on which depend the destinies of the administration, and the tranquillity of the country. I am sure you will allow me to give the toast by simply assuring you that I cordially coincide in it, and that no Irishman can be more anxious than I am to see the peace and prosperity of that country secured. I propose to you, "PEACE AND PROSPERITY TO IRELAND."



PROCEEDINGS AT

DUNDEE,

*On Saturday, the 4th of October, 1834, on the presentation of
the Freedom of the Burgh to the Earl of Durham.*

LORD DURHAM left Camperdown in an open carriage at 12 o'clock, accompanied by the Earl of Camperdown and Lord Kinnaird. When his Lordship arrived, the horses were taken out of his carriage, which was led along to the Town Hall amidst the cheers of the multitude. As no place in Dundee could possibly contain one sixth part of the immense number who crowded around his Lordship, a temporary hustings was erected in front of the Town House, for the purpose of enabling all to obtain a hearing of his speech. Having joined the Provost and Magistrates in the Council-room, he proceeded along with them to the hustings, where he was received with tremendous cheers. Silence having been restored,

Provost Kay advanced to the front of the hustings, and addressed the assembly as follows :—

Representing, as I have the honour to do, the Magistrates and the Town Council of Dundee, I am warranted in stating, and I think I may do it with confidence, that not only we, but all our fellow-citizens, congratulate ourselves on seeing Lord Durham amongst us. (Great cheering.) At a Meeting of the Magistrates and Town Council on Thursday, they resolved that an address should be presented to his Lordship, expressing the high approbation of the Magistrates and the Town Council of his Lordship's long and unwearied exertions in the cause of his Country, (Cheering,) their thanks for the independent political principles, supported by his Lordship for upwards of twenty years; but more especially for the great boon conferred on Scotland in particular—he meant the great, glorious, and bloodless victory of the Reform Bill. (Immense cheering.) And, I may add, that had it not been for the independent, unflinching, and manly exertions of Lord Durham, it is very doubtful whether that bill would at this time have been the law of the land. (Cheers.) To the Earl of Durham we are in a great measure indebted for it. (Great cheering.) The Provost then read the address as follows :—

“ Unto the Right Honourable the Earl of Durham,—The respectful address of the Magistrates and Town Council of Dundee.

“ In offering to your Lordship's acceptance the Freedom of this ancient Burgh, the Magistrates and Council, for themselves, and

the great body of their fellow-Townsmen, beg leave most cordially to welcome your appearance amongst us; and to express our high esteem for your character, our admiration of your talents, and our gratitude for the pre-eminent services which, as a British senator and statesman, your Lordship has rendered to our country.

"We are deeply sensible how much is due to your Lordship's enlightened labours and unbending integrity of purpose, in the preparing and passing of the great measure of Reform; and we also know how steadily you have kept in view and how ably you have vindicated the end and design of these Reforms in accordance with the sense in which they are cherished by the vast majority of your countrymen; who hold with your Lordship that, although wholesome measures may be mutilated, and the operation of sound principles obstructed for a time, they must of necessity be progressive, and ultimately triumphant, in defiance of every obstacle which party spirit can oppose to their advancement.

"With those who estimate any change in the institutions of our Country, merely as it may be the means of transferring power and emolument from the hands of one party to those of another, we have no sympathy; we value the new charter of our liberty only as it is calculated to rid us of our grievances, and to promote 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.'

"We ardently hope your Lordship may be long blessed with health and strength to enable you to persevere in forwarding the good work in which you have hitherto so nobly laboured, and that you may promote your own in advancing the happiness of your fellow men."

The Provost was repeatedly cheered during the reading of this address, and at the conclusion of it he added, "My fellow-townsmen, I am now satisfied, from the plaudits you have bestowed on this address, that it may be held as expressing not only the sentiments of the Magistrates and Town Council, but the sentiments of every individual in this great

community. I have also to state that the Magistrates and Town Council considered it their duty to avail themselves of the opportunity to present the freedom of this Royal Burgh to Lord Durham ; and I am sure that not only the Magistrates and Town Council, but every individual will feel proud if the noble Lord shall allow his name to be enrolled as a citizen of Dundee." And addressing Lord Durham, the Provost said, "I hope your Lordship will confer on us the honour of accepting the freedom of the burgh, which I now present." His Lordship took possession of his burgess-ticket amidst immense cheering.

Bailie CHRISTIE then came forward as Chairman of the Dundee Political Union, and, in doing so, said—I hold this is a proud day for Dundee, seeing that we have amongst us the very choice of the Peerage. Amongst the members of the House of Peers there is not one whose merits and good qualities wind round the hearts of the people like Lord Durham ; all entertained the same deep affection for Lord Durham in the House of Peers as they had done for Mr. Lambton in the House of Commons. Others have changed their minds, but he had not done so. At the gathering in Edinburgh, the other day, I was never so electrified as at hearing the reply of his Lordship to an individual who pleaded hard the do-as-little-as-possible system, and I would refer at present particularly to the crowning remark in Lord Durham's speech on that occasion:—"I regret every hour which passes over acknowledged and *yet* unre-

formed abuses." This sentiment gave a tone to the meeting at the "gathering," which certain parties did not expect, nor wish, nor like. Much good, I hold, was done at Edinburgh, though I have been blamed for being there, and for having compromised my radical principles; but I have to say, that I have not, and never will compromise principles which I believe to be sound. I contend for equal rights and laws to all,—and Lord Durham does the same. (Great cheering.) The declaration I allude to has I am sure, taken hold of every memory, and will descend to posterity as a marked saying of the first Earl of Durham. (Cheering.) I shall not take up his Lordship's time, or yours, with any farther remarks before reading the address; only there is one particular point which I shall notice, embraced by his Lordship's toast at Edinburgh, which referred to the peace and prosperity of Ireland; and I trust that his Lordship will have an especial regard for that ill-used country, and that he will be able to succeed in putting a stop to a system of misrule which has existed for centuries, and covered it with blood and ruin. But I trust that a better feeling exists at head quarters respecting Ireland as an integral part of the empire, and that she has seen her worst days (Cheers). If the Government do justice to Ireland, the trade of agitation will be gone. Let only justice be done to her and there is nothing to fear. I know my countrymen well, and that they have no envious feelings on account of the possessions of my Lord of

Northumberland, the Duke of Newcastle, or other Tory Peers. The people will leave these men in the enjoyment of all the bounties which Providence may have bestowed on them and such like ; but they insist that his Lordship, and others of the same stamp, shall not have the power of making laws exclusively for their own benefit, but that they shall legislate for the benefit of all." Bailie Christie then turned to his Lordship, and said—"My Lord, I represent on this occasion the Dundee Political Union, of which, since its formation, I have been chairman. The address of this body contains the sentiments of 99 out of every 100 of the people of Dundee ; and I will tell your Lordship this much, that this being Saturday, many of the working classes having piece-work to finish, have been prevented from attending, and the attendance therefore is not so great as it would have been, but yet such a display as has been made, will convince your Lordship that no nobleman could have had a better reception, and that no public man could get a more honest and heart-felt welcome than Lord Durham." (Immense applause.) Bailie Christie then read the address, which is as follows, and delivered it to his Lordship.—

"MY LORD,—The Dundee Political Union, and generally the operatives of Dundee, rejoice in the opportunity which your Lordship has afforded them to testify their gratitude to your Lordship for your able, consistent, and unwearied efforts in the cause of good and cheap government.

"In the present age, when some men who have been raised to power and wealth, by pretending to advocate the rights of the peo-

ple, seem to have forgotten the principles and opinions they formerly professed, we rejoice to see that your Lordship has, for honesty and liberality, sustained your high character throughout the varied situations in which, by birth and fortune, you have been placed; yes, both as a Commoner and as a Peer, we still find you the same staunch, able, and uncompromising advocate of the rights and happiness of mankind.

"For your assistance in preparing the Reform Bill, and your powerful advocacy of its principles in the House of Lords, the new constituency owe you their best thanks; and although its provisions are such, that but very few of the working classes are enfranchised,—yet, knowing the interest, the power, and the prejudices with which you had to contend, they too (although for the present excluded) thank you for the boon, and hail it as the first step towards the attainment of those rights which are so dear to every Briton, and of which a borough-mongering oligarchy have so long deprived us.

"In the way of Reform much yet requires to be done,—the Reform Bill itself has yet to be amended. The streams of knowledge are wickedly dammed up. We are still oppressed with monopolies of various descriptions—the corn law monopoly in particular bears hard upon the rights of industry—the beneficial circulation of the bounties of Providence is thereby prevented. The corporation laws are also peculiarly oppressive; for by means of them all hope of rising in the world is almost taken away from the working classes. Our taxation is enormous as well as unnecessary, to a great extent. It bears unequally on the different classes of society, pressing proportionably less on the rich than on the poorer and the middle classes. Law to a great extent is a mockery of justice. Our established churches are nests of sinecures, and their Ministers for the most part abettors of the powers that be,—whether good or bad. Indeed, our whole institutions still swarm with abuses and corruptions.

"May your Lordship long enjoy health and strength to enable you to aid in sweeping away such abuses and corruptions, and in diffusing peace and happiness amongst the human race.

"By appointment and desire of the Dundee Political Union and other Inhabitants of Dundee,

"W. CHRISTIE, Chairman."

The EARL OF DURHAM then presented himself, and was received with loud and enthusiastic cheering, and waving of hats and handkerchiefs. The following is an outline of his speech :—" Gentlemen, and after the events of this day, I may be permitted to add, fellow-citizens of Dundee,—I return you my best thanks for the honours now conferred on me ; and I beg to assure you, that, to the last hour of my existence, the recollection of the reception I have met with from you will be engraven on my heart. (Great cheering.) I will fairly own, that although any honour conferred on me by the authorities of your town would not have been without value, it would have been deprived of the peculiar value I attach to it, if it had not been accompanied by the affectionate reception I have received from the trades and working classes of Dundee. Although one of the privileged class, I have never regarded my privileges as worth any thing, if, along with them, I did not enjoy the affection of all classes of the community. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I cannot claim the exclusive merit the Provost has been pleased to assign to me. I am not the only individual member of the House of Peers who has proved himself worthy of the approbation of the people. I see around me noble lords who have always cordially acted with me—I mean the Earl of Camperdown and Lord Kinnaird, and that excellent patriot whom I observe on the opposite side of the street, Lord Panmure. (Great cheering.) I have never struggled for the people without receiving the

cordial assistance of these Peers ; therefore I cannot apply any such compliment to myself at their expence, but I am willing to share it with them ; and repeat my own sentiments, as well as theirs, when I say that they and I wish nothing which is not compatible with the rights and privileges of the community. (Great cheering.) I own that I receive with peculiar gratification such a tribute from the people of Dundee, because of all the towns in Scotland none has exercised its new franchise with so much independence and public advantage as the town of Dundee. They looked not to the influence but to the public principles and talents of the individual whom they selected to represent their rights and interests. They had chosen an individual not connected with the town, or even with Scotland, but the native of another country, well qualified, however, to advocate the rights and interests of their populous town. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, allusion has been made to the Reform Bill. I will not deny that to me was entrusted the preparation of the Reform Bill, (Cheers,) aided by others ; we prepared such a bill as, in the state of the times, we could expect to carry—a bill which, though mutilated, conferred on the people of this country a degree of liberty and freedom which never before existed in any country ; and certainly not in Scotland, where the people could not be said to possess any political freedom at all. But do I ascribe any particular merit to myself on this account? No! I am not so

vain. I know that in honouring me you are doing honour to the cause of Reform; and that when you reward a public servant, it will be to consecrate the principles of reform, and to vindicate your own consistency. With this disclaimer of any peculiar merit on my part, I will not deny that I have exerted myself in the cause of the people; I am thankful for the honours done, and the affectionate tribute now paid to me. (Great cheering.) Gentlemen, it would not be becoming in me to close the proceedings of this day without adverting, not only to the address of the Magistrates and Town Council of Dundee, and the freedom they have conferred on me, but also to the address of the Political Union. I have never yet, nor ever will, conceal my sentiments, whether addressing Radicals on the one hand, or Tories on the other. (Cheers.) I have ever stated and avowed what my principles are. (Great cheering.) I confess that, if I believed all that is stated in the address of the Political Union, I should despair of the prosperity of my country; but I do not believe that every thing is in such a state as is there represented. Much I know remains to be done; and with your assistance, it shall be done; but I do not believe that all is so bad and rotten in our institutions as is set forth in this address. My object is not to destroy and reconstruct, but to ameliorate and to amend. There is much that is good and valuable in our institutions, if it were fairly drawn out; but much of this has, through Tory misrule, been per-

verted to other purposes. I hold that, in our form of government by King, Lords, and Commons, there will be found as great a degree of liberty as ever existed in any other country of the world, and as much rational liberty as any people under the sun can or ought to enjoy. (Cheers.) I ask you of the working classes, who are the sinews of the state, what would be the consequence of any system calculated to produce confusion? I am not aware of any class that would suffer more from such a state than the operatives. Any thing which tends to derange the laws which regulate the employment of capital and labour must necessarily tend to destroy the mercantile and agricultural prosperity of the country; and if you take my advice you will take care that when you ameliorate you do not destroy. (Great cheering.) Gentlemen, having thus frankly stated that I will not go the length set forth in the address read by my honourable friend Bailie Christie, I may be allowed to state that I am an advocate for the most determined and speedy correction of all abuses, and that wherever any abuse can be pointed out, it ought to be immediately reformed. When I entered your town, the first thing that struck my eye was the magnificent appearance of your new dock; but I would not content myself with always admiring the beauty of the masonry, or the skill of the architect. I would wish to see the waves flowing into it—the navies of the world riding there; and thus manifested the increasing prosperity of the town. So it is with

the Reform Bill. It is not sufficient that the people have the power of electing their representatives—they want to see the fruits of it. The representation of the people is not perfect; but it is better than it was. (Great cheering.) Gentlemen, we have been told that there is danger of going too fast, and of acting without due deliberation. Now, while I admit that every measure should be well considered, since due consideration alone is effectual, I cannot see why time should be lost in beginning to deliberate. I cannot see why, instead of immediately deliberating, we should stop in our progress. Should any person from Perth be here, he would doubtless come by the steamer; and I would ask what he would have said if the man at the helm had called out, when they were in the middle of the Tay, “stop her.” (Laughter.) He would never have arrived at Dundee. He would have been in the middle of a handsome and romantic river no doubt; but this would not have satisfied him for not getting to the end of his journey. Therefore he would say, that the man at the helm of the state should not stop his course, but guide his vessel safely and speedily to port. (Great cheers.) Gentlemen, I ought not to have detained you so long. Since I ceased to represent the county of Durham in parliament, I have not been accustomed to address so large an assemblage. I cannot, however, resist the opportunity afforded, by the allusion of Bailie Christie to Ireland, of saying a few words about that country, though it is not

immediately connected with the honours that have been done me. I cordially agree, that the prosperity of Ireland is intimately connected and bound up with the prosperity of England and Scotland; and that we ought to exert ourselves in order to remove the evils which exist in that unhappy country. Centuries of misrule have not deadened a desire amongst the Irish people for good government; and we have only to pursue a sound line of policy towards them to make that country a source of riches and contentment, while, at present, it is merely a drag on the other parts of the empire,—an army of 30,000 men being required to keep down a people having one common interest with ourselves. With these feelings I dismiss this subject, grateful that at length the Government are anxious to do justice to the people of Ireland. In Edinburgh, I said that I would not then enter minutely into a discussion of the grievances of Ireland—and I say so now; but I cannot allude to it without agreeing in the necessity of something being done for the prosperity of that country. And now, Gentlemen, allow me to take leave of you. Although I did not cross the Border in the hope of receiving any personal honours from the people of Scotland—although I came only for the purpose of doing honour to one of the most illustrious statesmen that ever lived—I should not have the feelings which every man possesses if I were to repudiate the testimonies of affection and esteem I have received in Scotland, and if I did not assure

you, my fellow-citizens of Dundee, that there is no man in your town, or in Scotland, more anxious for your prosperity than I am. If life and health are spared to me, I will endeavour to carry into effect those principles for which I have contended. The support of people of wealth and high blood is not alone sufficient for the accomplishment of these objects. But, supported by the working classes of the community, without whose aid I can be of no use, I have no doubt that this country can be raised to a far higher pitch of prosperity than it or any other country ever yet attained. (Great cheering.)

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GRAND FESTIVAL AT

GLASGOW

IN HONOUR OF REFORM,

AND

DINNER TO THE EARL OF DURHAM.

WEDNESDAY, the 29th of October, was a proud day for the real Reformers of Glasgow and the West of Scotland—a day that will be conspicuously marked in the annals of Reform, and long held in remembrance by all who either witnessed or took part in the proceedings. At all times, even when the spirit of liberty and the desire for political and religious freedom seemed to languish and fall asleep in more favoured quarters, the people of this city have been distinguished for their attachment to the principles of civil and religious liberty; and the proceedings of yesterday are an overwhelming proof, if proof were

needed, that this spirit has in no degree abated among the industrious and intelligent population of this city and neighbourhood, but rather that it "has increased, is increasing, and ought not to be diminished."

At an early hour in the morning, even so early as eight o'clock, the stir and bustle of preparation for the coming and important proceedings of the day were plainly perceptible. Persons were seen hurrying to and fro in all parts of the town, evidently in furtherance of the necessary arrangements; this was especially the case in Calton, Bridgeton, Anderston, and all the suburban districts. The sound of instrumental music was heard every where around, and several large bodies of workmen were mustering at their appointed places of meeting, with flags, music, and other appropriate accompaniments. The appearance of the morning was by no means inviting: it was dull, misty, and lowering; there was an entire want of that bright and balmy October sunshine, which has been characteristic of the weather for the last fortnight, especially for the two days immediately preceding; yet it was a calm, mild, and pleasant morning, and there was no appearance of an immediate change of weather, which indication was fortunately verified; for, although it continued dull and hazy throughout, it was in all respects an agreeable and pleasant day. The state of the Green, streets, and roads, was particularly pleasant, being in all respects as dry, clean, and comfortable, as if it had been the middle of summer.

By half-past nine o'clock, a considerable crowd, at least 10,000 persons, had assembled around the hustings, a spacious and substantial structure, which had been erected on Tuesday, in front of Monteith Row, immediately north of Nelson's monument, and very nearly on the same spot where the great meeting was held, on Saturday, 12th May, 1832, which had so important and direct an effect in causing the recall of Earl Grey and the Reform Ministry to office; at this hour, also, a number of flags were displayed from windows of Trongate Street, Saltmarket Street, Gallowgate Street, and King Street.

Notice having been received that the noble and patriotic stranger would leave Hamilton Palace about ten o'clock, the east end of the village of Parkhead, at eleven o'clock, was appointed as the place and time of assembling for all those bodies of workmen who intended to join in procession, and accompany Lord Durham into town; and by ten o'clock all was in movement eastward towards this point of attraction; the streets and lanes were thronged in every direction with the citizens of both sexes, and of all ages and classes. At the east of the village, a very neat triumphal arch of evergreens had been erected by the Reformers of Parkhead, above which there was a white cloth, bearing the following inscription: "Under the arch of Truth, let Liberty pass;" and at this point a very large crowd had assembled by half-past ten o'clock, at which hour exactly, Mr. Watson, superintendent of Police, arrived on the ground,

splendidly decorated with his massy gold chain and medal, and having his baton of office; and immediately afterwards, a large force of police sergeants, with all the lieutenants. The police force amounted to about seventy men, all of whom were neatly dressed and in excellent order; and under the superior arrangements and judicious management of Mr. Watson, they discharged the difficult duty of keeping good order in a manner which reflects the highest credit on the establishment.

LORD DURHAM'S ENTRANCE INTO THE CITY.

The crowd continued to increase from all quarters until half-past eleven, at which hour exactly, Lord Durham's carriage arrived at the arch, and his Lordship was received with the most enthusiastic cheering. By this time, a great number of distinct bodies of workmen with flags and music had arrived at the spot, and in the best possible order arranged themselves in two lines, which extended from the arch nearly to the length of Camlachie bridge. Every thing being arranged under the orders of Mr. Watson, the Committee of Delegates from the various bodies of workmen—a numerous, well-dressed, and highly respectable looking body of men—moved on in front of his Lordship's carriage, preceded by the national banner, and in the front of the carriage was carried a banneret, on which was splendidly painted the Durham Arms, the motto to which is, “*Le jour viendra!*” (Norman French,) most judiciously trans-

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lated into English, "The time will come." All the various bodies fell into the procession at their proper places as the front advanced; and, after advancing in this manner to a little beyond Camlachie Bridge, Lord Durham descended from his carriage, passed through the Committee of Delegates, amidst loud cheering, and took his place in the front rank of the procession, which afterwards passed on in the best possible order, and almost entirely without that confusion which might have been expected to arise in so great a crowd, all anxious to see one man.

The route was along Gallowgate Street to the Cross, down Saltmarket to the front of the Justiciary Court Hall; and along the whole of this line—that is, from the east end of the village of Parkhead to the front of the jail, more than two miles—the crowd of spectators on both sides of the street was truly immense; many of the house-tops were filled with men and boys; every wall where a seat could be got; and especially every window along the whole line, was crowded with anxious and evidently pleased spectators.

The reception which Lord Durham met with from this immense multitude, at all points, must have made upon his mind a very pleasing impression of the extent to which his patriotic and straightforward public conduct has secured his popularity amongst this great and intelligent community. Every where, as he approached and was recognized, which, somehow or other, was done with astonishing readiness, the cheering was most enthusiastic; to all which he

responded frankly, and evidently with great pleasure, by repeatedly taking off his hat, bowing, and smiling to all around him.

ADMITTED A BURGESS.

The procession arrived at the foot of Saltmarket Street at half-past twelve o'clock. The magistrates and other gentlemen, on the announcement of the approach, then left the Council Chamber, where they had previously met, and received Lord Durham under the piazza with three cheers. His Lordship, after being introduced to the magistrates in the Council Chamber, then proceeded to the Justiciary Court Hall, and took his seat on the bench amid enthusiastic plaudits, accompanied by Bailies Gilmour, Mills, Lumsden, and Fleming, Mr. Oswald, M.P., Mr. Douglas of Barloch, Mr. Colin Dunlop of Tollcross, and Mr. Spiers of Culcreuch. The magistrates' seat and the jury box were occupied by the Town Council, the table in front of the bench by the town clerks and other official gentlemen, the centre seats by the stewards of the public dinner, the back seats by gentlemen heading deputations from a distance. After silence had been proclaimed by the Council Officer,—

Bailie GILMOUR said, he felt very highly gratified in having the pleasure of bestowing upon his Lordship the highest honour in their power to bestow. He assured Lord Durham, that this present instance of respect for, and admiration of, his public conduct,

fell very far short of the honour to which he was entitled, particularly while it was recollected, that through his exertions they had been rendered free citizens of the empire. Bailie Gilmour again said, he felt very proud in having the honour of conferring upon his Lordship the freedom of being a burgess of the ancient city of Glasgow. He concluded, amid tremendous cheering, with reading the burgess ticket, and presenting it to their distinguished visitor.

LORD DURHAM rose, and was received with loud plaudits. He said that he really felt it impossible to express the great pleasure which he had derived from the manner of his reception this day in this great city, so far famed for the industry and intelligence of its citizens, and no less so for their attachment to the principles of genuine freedom; and he declared that he accounted it one of the highest of his honours to be thus enrolled amongst the number of its burgesses. His friend who had done him the honour to present him with this expression of their esteem, had spoken of it as inconsiderable, but certainly the time would never come, when, as an Englishman, he would esteem it a small honour to have bestowed upon him such a mark of the respect of a great and free people. (Applause.) He did not, however, by any means, look upon it as entirely a personal compliment to himself; he considered it as a proof of their attachment to the cause of Reform, and of their approbation of the manner in which he had exerted himself

to promote that cause. He was, however, far from claiming any particular merit as regarded the great measure by which popular freedom had been so much extended. He had certainly assisted his colleagues in the Government to the utmost of his power; but it was to one man, and one man alone, that the country was indebted for the great measure of parliamentary Reform—and that man was Lord Grey. (Great cheering.) It gave him great pleasure certainly to know, that his past conduct was so much approved of by his fellow-citizens of Glasgow, (Cheers,) and he hoped that his future career, whether long or short, would be to them equally satisfactory. It was now nineteen years since he had visited this city before, and he was highly pleased to see the improvements of every kind which it had made during that period; and he could not conclude without again assuring those whom it now gave him much satisfaction to claim as his fellow-citizens, that no man more ardently desired the continued increase and prosperity of the city, and the happiness and comforts of all its inhabitants, than himself; and they would find him at all times ready to do whatever was in his power to promote these objects. His Lordship bowed to the audience, and sat down amidst deafening cheers.

The Dean of Guild, of Perth, then rose, and said he had much pleasure in presenting his Lordship with the freedom of that city. He read the extract from the Guildry, admitting his Lordship into that respectable body.

Lord DURHAM wished the Dean to convey to the Guildry of Perth, and to the inhabitants of that city, his sincere thanks and expressions of gratitude for the honour so unexpectedly conferred. He was aware that their interests were one and the same, and he only wished that opportunities of mixing and identifying themselves with the people were more frequent with individuals in his sphere. If ever he again visited this part of the kingdom, he would feel very great pleasure in forming an acquaintance with the inhabitants of Perth, of which ancient town he now had the honour of being a citizen. (Cheers.)

His Lordship then left the hall, accompanied by the magistrates and council, and a numerous party of gentlemen, escorted by a body of police, and proceeded to the hustings, where he arrived shortly after one o'clock.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE ADDRESSES ON THE GREEN.

While these things were passing in the Justiciary Hall, the multitudes in the Green were patiently waiting for his Lordship's advent there, where a welcome, not heartier perhaps, but infinitely more imposing, attended him. To those who are ignorant of the locality, we may mention that what is called the Green of Glasgow, is distinguished by the terms low and high, the former lying to the west of the latter. The low green rises on the south, east and north sides, where it is bounded by the river, the high

green, and by the railing, which divides it from Monteith Row, a very fine street which stretches from Glasgow towards Bridgetown. To the west the low green runs nearly level towards the Justiciary Hall, which faces it, at five or six hundred yards distance. This form renders it admirably adapted for a large meeting, for which it offers abundance of space, while its sloping sides afford the best possible opportunity for both seeing and hearing. On Wednesday a hustings of about forty feet square was erected in the lowest point of the area, and in the centre of the hustings was a raised platform, on which, during his speech, and while the various addresses were being presented to him, the Earl of Durham stood. As early as ten o'clock the space round the hustings began to assume a bustling appearance. At that hour there were not less than 10,000 persons present. The flow of young, old, and middle-aged, male and female, towards the same point from ten o'clock till one o'clock was broad, rapid, and continuous. At the latter hour the north, east, and west sides of the hustings, for an extent of not less than a hundred and fifty yards, every way, presented one closely packed mass of human beings, over whose heads one might have walked not merely securely but steadily, for so great was the pressure of the outer files that the crowd was deprived entirely of the capacity of motion. To the south the pressure was equally great in the immediate neighbourhood of the hustings, but it did not extend to such a distance from it. Beyond

the line of absolute squeezing, as far as the railing of the green on the north, of Nelson's monument on the south, and the verge of the high green on the east, the entire surface of the ground was so covered as not to leave one glimpse of it visible even from the platform. On the west side the crowd stretched more or less dispersedly, but with no breach of continuity, to the steps of the Justiciary Hall, round which clustered the numerous banners of the Trades' procession, the committees of the trades amounting to two or three thousand individuals, and not less than three times that number of spectators. The whole of these, when the Earl of Durham left the hall, accompanied him in his progress towards the hustings, and the same advance of the chief object of the meeting served as a signal for the pressing inward of the groups, who, up to that moment, had hung detached on the skirts of the crowd.

It is at all times difficult to estimate, with accuracy, the numbers of a meeting such as that of Wednesday, and we are prepared for very different accounts even from the best intentioned and most careful calculators of such matters. In giving our own we shall give the data on which it is formed, and leave our readers to receive it or reject as they deem it probable or otherwise. The hustings was a square of 36 feet nearly. Now along the side of this square we counted *thirty-six* persons. This would give for a square of 36 feet no fewer than 1296; an

allowing the extreme of density to extend to five times the depth of the hustings on three sides, and to three times the depth of the hustings on the remaining side, we would thus obtain for an area of 324 by 396 feet, no less a gross number than 138,000. But although, as we have stated, the crowd consisted of nearly all ages, and although weavers, of which the great mass of it was made up, are not in general so bulky as London Aldermen, a square foot is yet a narrow standing room even for a weaver. We will, therefore, assume one-half of the number we have given, as the more correct estimate. If to this mass of 64,000, which formed the meeting strictly so called, be added the looser columns by which the mass was encircled, and the numerous detached groups which hung upon the outskirts of the latter, as well as the band which accompanied the procession from the Justiciary Hall, and not one of which, nor of the procession itself, with the exception of some forty or fifty of the leaders, were able to approach the hustings, we do not think we should be justified in estimating the entire crowd at less than 120,000. Nor is there any thing surprising or impossible in such a congregation in such a place and under such a stimulus. The population of Glasgow and its suburbs is not less than 250,000; and the meeting of Wednesday drew not only on Glasgow, but on the surrounding country for ten miles at least. The whole of the mills and factories of every kind were stopped for the day, and their multitudinous tenants

set loose. Now, the operatives of such a district constitute, with their families, at least two-thirds, if not more, of the entire community. Taking the population which contributed to the meeting, then, as 300,000, and allowing one half of the operatives to attend, which they easily might do, we have 120,000, the precise number at which we have already arrived. There are other and looser modes by which we were able to get at nearly a similar result. We were present at the great Penenden Heath meeting in 1829, at the great Marybone meeting at the Eyre Arms in 1832. The number on each of these occasions was variously reported, but we believe that on neither did it fall short of 20,000. We have no hesitation in saying that neither of them bore a ratio of 1 to 6 compared to the meeting of Wednesday. The crowd were as good humoured as they were formidable. We had the most excellent opportunity of observing their deportment for at least a couple of hours, and we did observe it narrowly, and with the deepest interest, and during that entire time we did not perceive the evidences of one jarring passion, nor did we hear one tone or word of anger or complaint. It was indeed a goodly matter to behold such a mighty field of honest men, and one which well repaid the most earnest and attentive study. Of all the sights that we have ever beheld in the course of our pilgrimage, we have seen nothing either equal or second to it, at the moment when the Earl of Durham mounted the

platform. A hundred flags and banners, which had accompanied him in procession from the Justiciary Hall, waved to and fro in the breeze, forming a long line of varied and gaudy colouring, from the hustings to the far rear of the multitude; the music of some dozen or more of bands, disposed at distant intervals, came floating over the heads of the people; but sheen and melody fell on our eyes and ears unheeded. We could see no other sight than that wonderful and fearful field of upturned faces, nor hear any other sound but the rise and fall of their murmur of tremendous applause.

Lord Durham left the Hall about half-past one, and mounted the hustings about a quarter to two o'clock. It had been arranged that Mr. D. H. Graham should act as chairman at the Green, where the ceremony was wholly under the direction, as was most just, of the body of the Trades, at whose request the noble Earl appeared there. Mr. Graham, as soon as Lord Durham had ascended the platform, addressed him in a very brief speech introductory to the presentation of the address from the Trades. Mr. J. Tait then read the address, which was as follows:—

TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DURHAM.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR LORDSHIP,

The workmen of Glasgow and neighbourhood feel it incumbent on them, on this proud occasion of your welcome visit, to express their

high esteem towards one who has, from his long and ardent attachment to the principles of reform, and bold, firm, and manly vindication of the people's rights, earned to himself the true distinction of a nobleman, independent of hereditary influence and the association of mere rank and wealth.

Above all, we honour and esteem your Lordship for the sentiments recently expressed by you in Edinburgh and Dundee, whereby you acknowledge that neither wealth or high blood are sufficient of themselves to propel a requisite and sanatory reform in our civil and political institutions, and that, without the aid of the working classes, every attempt at general improvement would be futile. We hail this declaration of your Lordship as something like a call upon us to be again up and be doing. We cling round you as the standard from which the banner of freedom is to be still further unfurled. We promptly seize with gratitude the friendly hand so unexpectedly stretched out towards us, and bless the generous heart that has so warmly responded to the voice of a long oppressed and insulted people.

From sentiments so noble, and yet so novel, in one of your rank, it follows that your Lordship would, were it in your power, assist in extending to workmen, whose aid is avowedly so necessary in forwarding the good and glorious cause of social and political reform, the highest privilege of rational freemen—the right of voting for those into whose hands the legislative functions are entrusted: or, that is the opinion of your Lordship, that the provisions of the Bill, which you formerly aided in drawing up and carrying through so many opposing obstacles—a measure great for the time—and to the promotion of which, although not included in its provisions, we lent all the influence we possessed, are inadequate for the purposes intended, and must be enlarged.

Let not your Lordship for a moment suppose, that we are so inconsiderate as to expect at once all that we innately feel an imperative right to claim—a full, fair, and free representation in Parliament, by the extension of the franchise to all who in any degree contribute to support the State, and advance the interests of the social compact. This we will ever claim: but, in pity for the ignorance, the violent prejudices, and the heartless illiberality of those

of the higher classes who look upon us a degraded caste, we will be glad to acquire by peaceable and constitutional means, and through the incessant droppings of imperishable truth, a gradual extension of our legitimate rights: and shall be happy, should your Lordship join with us, in deeming household suffrage, vote by ballot, and the abridgment of the duration of Parliament, as measures now requisite, and which would satisfactorily lead to a better understanding among all classes of the community.

That we are not, in demanding at this time the exercise of a portion of that political power which is our due, either rash or unreasonable, we appeal to the measures passed in the two first Sessions, of what is called a Reform Parliament. Not one of these bore, except with additional burden, upon the condition of the British labourer. We indeed rejoice that the black inhabitants of our colonies have been partially emancipated; but when twenty millions of money, the price of their freedom, were laid upon our shoulders, why did the Legislature refuse to render the hands of industry more free? Why were the mean but lordly paupers of the State still left to fatten upon the fruits of our toil? Why was the base embargo on the bread of life, that we might have borne our burdens with the greater ease, and the unhallowed restrictions on the acquirement of useful knowledge, that we might have learned the laws of society more perfectly, not removed? And does not this total neglect of the interests of the British poor and industrious, call for a greater infusion of popular feeling into the national legislative assembly?

Taking it for granted that your Lordship's response is in the affirmative, we earnestly desire that you may be speedily called upon to fill an influential and responsible situation in his Majesty's Councils, and that you may be long spared, with all your faculties and energies entire, to promote the freedom, prosperity, and happiness of the people of this great empire—and never, like some, who, in office, instead of rising in public confidence and esteem, have miserably failed even in common honesty, sink into disrepute. These are the sincere and fervent aspirations of the workmen who now address you, and in whose name, and by whose instructions, we have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

Your Lordship's obedient Servants.

The Earl of DURHAM then stood forward amidst immense plaudits. He said,—Gentlemen, nothing can possibly be more grateful to me, nothing can be more honourable than the approbation of so large and respectable a meeting of the trades of Glasgow, and of the other industrious and enlightened inhabitants of this town and the west of Scotland. (Cheers.) I can assure you, Gentlemen, I have not words sufficiently strong to express the admiration I feel at the splendid scene around me. (Cheers.) To see thousands, aye, I may say tens, almost hundreds of thousands of brave, yet peaceful men, brought together by one great animating public principle, is a sight to be witnessed in no other part of this great empire. (Great cheering.) I have admired, as all strangers must do, the beauty of your country. I have admired your lofty hills, your lovely valleys, and your romantic lakes; but all these gifts of nature sink into insignificance when compared with those intellectual attributes with which Providence has adorned and strengthened your national character. (Immense cheering.) To the enthusiasm of other nations, you add that quiet steadiness of purpose—that firmness and stability of character which, conscious of innate strength, makes you disdain, in pursuing a great object, the adventitious aids of violence and clamour. Long may this character be possessed by your countrymen, and gain for you the approbation of the wise and the good—the true friends of good government. (Cheers.) I most sincerely and cordially thank you

for the kind expressions you have in your address made use of personally to me ; I am happy to hear you express all you desire—all that you have to complain of. (Cheers.) Whatever may be your feelings on any question, it is always better that they should be fully expressed. You will give me credit for dealing frankly with you in the delivery of my sentiments, even when I do not flatter your prejudices, or follow the line of conduct which you may wish. But though I may not be able to agree with you in all points, I still have confidence in you. (Cheers.) Here, Gentlemen, is the great difference between me and my opponents. They fear you ; they do not repose confidence in you ; their principles towards you are those of fear and jealousy : mine, I solemnly declare, are only those of affection and confidence. (Great cheering.) I could trust all that is dear to me in your hands—(Great applause)—my life, my honour, my property, I feel confident, would be as safe in your hands as in my own. (Renewed applause.) I believe your object to be, not the destruction of any of the institutions of the country, but the promotion of all that is good in them. I will now notice a few of those points upon which in your address you have expressed your opinions. This is our first acquaintance. Gentlemen, I hope it will not be our last ; but it is highly necessary, in the mean time, that you should know with whom you have to do, and I will, therefore, not conceal my sentiments from you. (Great cheering.) In your

address there are three essential points on which you have taken your ground, viz. Household Suffrage, Vote by Ballot, and Triennial Parliaments. (Cheers.) On these points I will not conceal my views. I have already in Parliament proposed Household Suffrage, and Triennial Parliaments, and my opinions are still the same. But at the same time, I am not prepared to press them obstinately against those of other Reformers: for, though I will not yield under any circumstances, whatever, to our enemies, yet, I am not ashamed to say, that when true and real reformers differ from me, I give way to their particular views. As to Vote by Ballot, you are all aware, Gentlemen, that considerable difference of opinion prevails upon this question. Some think it not advisable, and somewhat inconsistent with the practice of a free state; but I tell you that my opinion is decidedly in favour of the Ballot. (Vehement cheering.) This is not a declaration made to serve a momentary purpose. Those who know me best know that I have long entertained that opinion, and that I have acted upon it. (Cheers.) His Lordship then, after a reference to the necessity of ballot for the purpose of preventing corrupt practices, proceeded:—Gentlemen, do not deceive yourselves—indeed you have not deceived yourselves—you have got a great and influential party to oppose you in the extension of the suffrage, and in seeking those other privileges to which you are entitled. But do I bid you despair? Are your aspirations, as is so well expressed in the

Address now presented to me—are your aspirations after political independence to be checked or destroyed? No. Follow out the spirit of this address, show by your quiet persevering adherence to these great sentiments, by your sound political opinions, that you are every day becoming more and more entitled to those privileges which you so justly demand, and which are the basis of all lasting prosperity. (Cheers.) I now take my leave, most sincerely thanking you for the cordial reception I have met with at your hands, and assuring you that the proudest day of my life will be that upon which I made my first acquaintance with the honest, the industrious, the enlightened working classes of the city of Glasgow. His Lordship resumed his seat amidst general and most enthusiastic plaudits.

The following addresses were then presented to his Lordship: From the hand-loom weavers of Scotland, by Mr. Thomson; from the operative cotton spinners; from the Irish labourers of Glasgow; from the North West Political Union of Glasgow; from the Glasgow Political Union, by Mr. Wallace of Kelly; from the town of Greenock, and the Political Union of Renfrewshire, also by Mr. Wallace; from the Trades of Edinburgh, by Mr. Reid; from the Edinburgh United Irishmen, by Mr. Mooney; from the Magistrates of Dysart; from the Renfrew Political Union, by Mr. Bentine of Ardoch; from the town of Saltcoats, by Dr. M'Fadyen; from the town of Ayr, by Mr. Taylor;

from Irvine, by Mr. Baine ; from the Kilmarnock Political Union, by Bailie Craig ; from the Western District of Stirlingshire Political Union, and the town of Renfrew, by Capt. Spiers ; from the Magistrates of Kilmarnock, by Mr. Geddes ; from the trades of Greenock, by Mr. Graham ; from Galston, by Mr. Brown ; from the parish of Kilbirnie ; from the hand-loom weavers of Strathaven, and from the town of Johnstone, by Mr. Fraser. After the presentation of the addresses,

The Earl of DURHAM again addressed the multitude. He said, You will allow me, gentlemen, in consequence of the fatigue that I shall have to undergo before the proceedings of this day come to a close, to thank the whole of the gentlemen forming the various deputations, in one speech, instead of doing so separately to all of them, for the kind approbation of my public conduct, which has been expressed in the addresses now presented to me, which, I can assure you, I shall value to the last hour of my life, (Cheers) and which will be an incentive, if any were needed, to future exertions. (Cheers.) The Noble Lord afterwards shortly addressed the assemblage from another part of the hustings, and was enthusiastically cheered throughout.

The business having been gone through, the Earl of Durham, accompanied by the other gentlemen on the hustings, and the Dinner and Trades' Committees, left the Green, proceeding along London-street,

Trongate, Queen-street, and George's-square, to the George Hotel, from the stairs of which his Lordship shortly addressed the people below. The various bodies then separated, the whole proceedings having gone off in the most quiet and orderly manner.

THE DINNER.

The Banquet Hall was 102 feet by 80, and 22 tables ran longitudinally down the room between and at right angles to those appropriated to the Chairman and Croupier, which were placed at the respective ends of the room. A large gallery for the accommodation of the ladies was placed behind the Chairman, and extended nearly the whole breadth of the Hall. The front of this gallery was elegantly festooned with evergreens. A gallery for the accommodation of those gentlemen who could not obtain tickets to the body of the Hall, was in like manner erected at the lower end of the Hall, immediately behind the Croupier's table. These last gentlemen were plentifully furnished with sandwiches, and a bottle of wine, and although not so well situated as their more fortunate neighbours below, seemed still to bear their comparatory privations with great good humour. The Hall was calculated to contain about 1700, but we should think that there was fully more than that number in the interior. The upper part, including the roof of the interior, was lined with

buff and blue calico, the blue forming the groundwork, only divided into compartments by broad stripes of buff. The space behind the tables of the Chairman and Croupier, and below the galleries, was lined with red calico. Eight pillars supported the roof, being four on each side, and in the space between these two rows of pillars, three chandeliers were placed, the centre one, which was formed of chrystal, having a very handsome appearance. A small gallery for the musicians was placed on the north side, near the centre. The strangers and gentlemen of the Press were admitted a little before four o'clock, by a private door entering from Montrose-street. The general company, who were divided into parties of twenty-eight, and assigned to the respective Stewards, and took their places according as the lots fell, were admitted after four o'clock, and continued to assemble until about five o'clock, when all the tables were filled. We may mention that the Press mustered very strong; indeed we question if there ever was such a large body gathered together in Scotland, not even excepting the Earl Grey dinner. Those who attended from London were attached to the *Times*, *Morning Herald*, and *Morning Chronicle*, while Reporters from the following Edinburgh Journals also were present:—the *Courant*, *Mercury*, and *Observer*. Besides these, several provincial journals also sent their representatives, and, including the Reporters of Glasgow, we believe the whole amounted to 26. The *Times*' Reporters, we under-

stand, left the room about twelve, and journeyed express to London, with the intention of publishing the proceedings in their journal of Friday morning ! The Chairman entered the room at a little before six o'clock, followed by the Earl of Durham, &c. and they were welcomed with loud and reiterated cheering. Among the ladies in the gallery, we observed Lady Fanny Lambton, who sat in the centre, immediately behind her father.

The Chairman was supported on his right by the Guest of the day, Bailie Gilmour, Charles Tennant, of St. Rollox, Esq. Bailie Mills, Bailie Lumsden, and Professor Mylne ; on his left by the Hon. Arthur Kinnaid, Alexander Spiers, of Elderslie, Esq., Bailie Fleming, V. D. Gillon, of Wallhouse, Esq. M.P., Robert Wallace, of Kelly, Esq. M.P., and R. C. Bontine, of Finlaystone, Esq.

The Croupiers, Colin Dunlop, of Tolcross, Esq., J. Douglas, of Barloch, Esq., and A. G. Spiers, of Calcreuch, Esq. ; were supported on the right by Provost Hardie, and Bailies Hendrey and Jaffrey, John Denny, Esq., Dumbarton, and David Hamilton, Esq. ; on the left by William Stirling Esq., of Cordall, Andrew Mitchell, Esq., of Maulside, Alexander Dennison, Esq.

The grace, a long and reverend one, was pronounced by the Venerable Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University, and until the grace was over, there was no attack on the plain but plentiful supply of viands, which heaped the several tables.

The conduct of the Glasgow reformers, in this, and in all other particulars, was a model of good sense and good breeding. While the dinner was in progress the ladies began to enter the gallery appropriated for them. The eating part of the ceremony was soon over. It did not, we should imagine, consume above twenty minutes at most. The clearing of the tables from the fragments of the feast, which were very numerous, might occupy twenty minutes more.

We did not take note of the time, and, under the circumstances, it might have lapsed more rapidly than we were aware, but, from our feelings, we should say that the grace after meat must have been said before the half-hour after six o'clock had chimed. As soon as the grace was said, Mr. Oswald, the chairman, rose to propose the first toast, previous to which he observed, that the several toasts agreed upon by the stewards, had been assigned to individual gentlemen of the company, and that until the stewards' list was gone through, it would not be convenient to introduce any other toasts, but that when their list was exhausted, any toast which it might please the company to receive, might be given.

Mr. Oswald then gave "the King," which was drunk with great cheering; the instrumental band playing the national anthem, and the company standing. "The Queen," which was also well received, was followed by the glee from the vocal band of "the King and Queen, God bless them." After the

Queen, the chairman gave "the Princess Victoria," "the Duke of Sussex," which were very much cheered.

The Chairman—I shall give without preface, for it requires none, "The People, the only source of political power." Immense cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.

"The Navy and Army, and may service and merit be the only means of promotion."

The Chairman said that he rose to propose a toast on which he might perhaps make some observation, but the meeting was well aware that he was no speaker. (A laugh.) The toast contained a sentiment, and it was better expressed than anything he could say on the subject; he should, without further preface, give "Lord Melbourne and his Majesty's Ministers, and we trust that their practice in power will be in accordance with their principles in opposition."

The toast was received with three hearty cheers.

Having thus arrived at the toast of the day, for the celebration of which he demanded a bumper,—

The Chairman said, that it now became his duty to propose to the highly respectable assembly by whom he was surrounded—a toast which would call for some introductory observations on his part, were he not satisfied that all present were aware that he was not a speech-maker, nor had they come there to hear him speak. The toast was one that he felt satisfied would be drunk with enthusiasm. It needed

not that he should detain the meeting any considerable time in bringing before their notice the merits of the noble Lord, whom the citizens of Glasgow had now the honour of seeing amongst them. [At this moment the company simultaneously rose, and the hall echoed with their plaudits, accompanied by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs for several minutes.]—He, must, however, state, that the father of the noble Lord who was now the guest of the citizens of Glasgow, was the preses of the meeting of the friends of the people, in the year 1792, and in no one point had his son ever deviated from the principles then expressed by his noble relation. This was sufficient reason why he did not think it necessary to trespass upon the time or attention of the meeting; and secondly, it was unnecessary, because the straightforward, manly, and intrepid conduct of the noble Lord, had earned for him a character which rendered eulogy useless. The noble Lord had never swerved from his course to the right or the left—he had dared to be “honest in the worst of times.” (Tremendous cheers.) He was satisfied that the conduct of the noble Lord henceforward would correspond with what it had already been, that he would never forget the strict course of a thorough Reformer. He would therefore rest satisfied with now merely proposing a bumper toast to “The health of the Earl of Durham.” [Loud cheers for several minutes.]

The following song, written by Mr. Dugald Moore,

was then admirably sung by the glee party; it was received with great applause:—

Welcome, DURHAM, to our land !
 First of Freedom's sacred band !
 Round thee, all unflinching, stand
 The children of the free !
 Hearts as firm as those who freed,
 On the morn of Runnymede,
 Throne and altar from the weed
 Of soulless tyranny.

Welcome, DURHAM ! to the clime,
 Where the mountain breezes chime,
 And the cataract shouts sublime,
 Like the trump of Fame!
 Where the voice of Wallace breathed ;
 And the sword of Bruce, unsheathed,
 To his bleeding land bequeathed
 A high and deathless name !

Welcome to the hardy North—
 Land of poetry and worth,
 Fairest portion of the earth—
 A gem amid the sea !
 A land, which, in this world of woes,
 Heaven bless'd as from the deep it rose,
 Breathing o'er its mountain snows !
 The glorious sound, Be free !

We're the sons of those who stood
 Firm in many a field of blood—
 Douglas, Wallace, unsubdued—
 And we bid thee hail !
 When the bitter conflict's done,
 To thy honours nobly won ;
 Thou hast hid war's blood-red sun
 With mild Freedom's veil.

it was

Then welcome to the land which spurns
Chains in which the patriot mourns—
Welcome to the land of Burns,

Now rescued from the storm !
Pledge high to freedom's sacred cause,
The King, our altars, and our laws—
The Press—our homes—our " wooden wa's,"
Lord DURHAM—and Reform !

When the applause which followed this effusion of Mr. Dugald Moore's muse had ceased, the Earl of Durham rose to reply. We feel quite unable to express the fervour of greeting that met him. We have been present at many meetings, political and convivial, in the Old Crown and Anchor, and elsewhere, but anything like the enthusiasm and heartfelt zeal that reigned in the Glasgow meeting, we never witnessed. When we say that the cheering that preceded, and accompanied, and followed the speech was great, we are aware that the expression is a most inadequate one ; but were we to accumulate a hundred epithets one upon another, and each stronger than its precursor, the expression would still be inadequate. Perhaps an enumeration of the modes of signifying the applause of the company, may serve to give our readers an idea, though an imperfect one, of its intensity. They may imagine, then, a cheer to the top of his most potent note, proceeding from every individual of the meeting ; and that cheer renewed, not three times three, but nine times nine at least ; and from this they may conclude the effect of the company's admiration on the

ear; and they may imagine a thousand handkerchiefs, whirling, not waving, in the air, and from this conclude its effect on the eye; and if to these joint effects they add the singularly animating picture of two thousand human faces, flushed with pleasurable excitement, and all of them directed to one common point of attraction, then they may arrive at some shadow of the reality of the singular scene. When the applause had sunk into comparative silence, the noble Earl said—

“Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, I stand in need of your utmost indulgence, (Cheers,) I require from you, not merely your belief in the expressions which I am about to utter, but also your conviction in the sincerity of feelings, which surpass all powers of utterance. (Cheers.) Worldly honours have been conferred on me. I have had the good fortune to receive for my services the approbation of my Sovereign; I have been listened to with favourable attention in both houses of Parliament; but in all those situations, and under those circumstances, eliciting feelings of just and honourable pride, there has been wanting that animating excitement, that inspiriting enthusiasm, which always fills my breast when I am cheered and encouraged by the approbation of my fellow-countrymen, eagerly pursuing the same object with myself, unalloyed by private or personal considerations,—that object being the great public one which ought to be the end and aim of all

our exertions—the improvement and welfare of our common country. (Cheers.) I am not, therefore, sufficiently master of myself to thank you as I ought; and yet, how warmly ought I to thank you! for you have placed me on an elevation vainly coveted by those who are infinitely superior to me in talent and ability (loud cries of No, no); and yet I will not discredit your choice so much as to say that I have not deserved well of you. (Cheers.) For more than twenty years I have laboured honestly, zealously, and conscientiously in the public cause. (Cheers.) I have never deviated, as my honourable friend your excellent chairman has told you, at least my conscience acquits me of having ever deviated either to the right or the left. I have pursued unceasingly the path pointed out to me by my excellent father, to whom he alluded; and if I continue to pursue the same course, I believe and trust that I shall continue to be honoured with your applause. (Cheers.) But if you are thus kind—I might say if you are thus just to me—there are others who do not mete out to me the same justice. (Cheers and cries of ‘Shame.’) It may be, perhaps, on account of the too great favour which I find at your hands. (Cheers.) Every inducement has been tendered to me since I received your invitation to prevent me from coming to meet you here this day. (Immense cheering.) I was told, forsooth, that I should find your principles too violent, and that I should commit myself by listening to opinions which tend to the

destruction of all good government. (Cheers.) My answer to all this was unvarying. I denied that I should find any such principles among the men of Glasgow, (Cheers.) and I ask you fearlessly whether the events of this day have not proved my anticipations to be correct? I ask you, who have looked upon the immense multitude assembled on the Green this day, and who have listened to the sentiments contained in the addresses presented to me: I ask you, whether there was any the slightest foundation for such a fear? (No, no.) But, gentlemen, I must in candour say, that the injustice meted out to me came only from one quarter of the country. You are all aware of the quarter to which I allude. (Cheers and laughter.) I set aside for the present our mutual enemies the Tories; it is of the Liberals that I wish to speak; and among those who profess liberal sentiments I know of an attack from one quarter only, and that quarter is the capital of this country. (Cheers.) I ask you, is that attack just, is it fair, is it founded on public principle? Is there any public principle which I have violated? Why then, if no public principle is concerned, why am I thus turned round upon by these persons, and denounced as a tyrant in private, and as an impostor in public? (Great cheering.) I will not seek to discover their motives, if they be not founded on public reasons. It would be too painful for me to reflect upon the private motives by which their attacks may have been prompted. But I will

take this opportunity of doing myself an act of justice before you, my fellow-citizens of Glasgow; I will avail myself of this opportunity to justify myself, which I will do (great cheering) against these accusations. I will state to you, first, what the accusations are. I will not shrink from any one charge preferred against me. First of all, it is stated that I wished to propose a less popular plan of reform than that which was given to the people by the government. (Hear.) I distinctly and positively assert to you that this is false. (Deafening cheers.) The next charge against me is, that I willingly consented to certain mutilations of the Reform Bill. I shall prove to you how false that charge is, when I state to you that I was not in England when those mutilations and changes were engrafted on it. (Cheers.) I had just suffered the first of a series of calamities which might have unnerved a man of the steadiest mind, and I had been kindly and considerably permitted by my Sovereign to travel for a time to recruit my health and spirits. (Cheers.) I was not, I say, in England then, and I therefore cannot be considered answerable for the alterations in the second Reform Bill. (Cheers.) You are all aware, gentlemen, of the public contradiction which I have felt it necessary to give to the charges affecting my public character. After making that contradiction public, I felt that my first duty was to consult upon the farther steps to be taken, a person, at the time alluded to, filling the highest station in the country, who had,

as I think you will allow, a right to be consulted by me upon it. There is no man living who has a more complete case in vindication than I have. (Cheers.) I placed myself in his hands, and requested permission from him to state every circumstance in my defence. I believe the shortest way for me to proceed will be to read the letter which Earl Grey addressed to me on the subject. It is as follows :—

“ Howick, Oct. 25, 1834.

“ My dear Lambton,—In answer to your desire to know how far you would be justified in stating publicly, what occurred in the preparation and discussion of the Reform Bill by the King’s confidential servants, I can have no hesitation in saying, that, in my opinion, no such disclosure can be made, consistently with the obligations of private confidence and of public duty. Were all that has taken place with respect to individual opinions, or the various modifications which almost every measure of Government must undergo before it is finally agreed upon, to be exposed to public view, there must be an end of all security and confidence in his Majesty’s Councils.

“ Having stated this opinion confidently and frankly, it may, perhaps, be satisfactory to you to add, that in all my communication with you on the subject of the Reform Bill, nothing occurred to cast a doubt on the consistency of your principles, or on your sincere and anxious desire to assist in rendering it a safe and efficacious measure.

“ Believe me ever, my dear Lambton,

“ Yours most faithfully and affectionately,

“ GREY.”

You will therefore perceive that I am precluded from stating those particulars relative to the preparation of the second Reform Bill, which tend to the justifica-

tion of myself from these charges, and you must therefore be content to take my asseveration, which I now solemnly make to you, that I am not guilty of the charges preferred against me. (Cheers.) I also wish to take this opportunity to state that there is another accusation against me as unfounded as that to which I have already alluded. It has been stated as an excuse for the half revelations which have been made on the subject of the Reform Bill, that I was the first to disclose the secrets of the Cabinet when addressing my friends at Gateshead. I deny the truth of this charge. I never disclosed any secret. I never stated any Cabinet transactions, and I will prove to you how impossible it is that I should have done so in this instance. I refer such of you as take any interest in my public conduct, to a speech of mine, which now stands as a record, and contains evidence which those that can may turn against me. All I stated on that occasion at Gateshead, was that Earl Grey had intrusted to me the preparation of the Reform Bill, and that I had been assisted in that task by three of my colleagues; was that a secret? It might not, perhaps, be known to my friends in Durham; but it was notorious to every man living in the metropolis, where I had been residing; for all the memorials to the Treasury, and all the deputations to the Prime Minister were referred by him to me. I saw the parties in my own house; I received there every information which I thought likely to elucidate the subject. Did I then disclose any secret

at Gateshead ? I say I did not, and I therefore again deny the charge that in anything which I uttered at any meeting I ever uttered a syllable disclosing either what had been done in the Committee or what was subsequently done in the Cabinet. (Cheers.) But enough, gentlemen, of myself. Let me rather direct your attention to that great public object which is the best justification of the honours which you have this day conferred upon me, and of my acceptance of them. If ever there was a time when mutual co-operation and active combination among the friends of liberal principles was not only expedient, but absolutely necessary, it is the present. (Cheers.) We have fought an arduous battle, and won a glorious victory. But our enemy is still in the field and in force, and we must not repose in the security of past triumphs, but must rise to the consciousness of an impending struggle. I only ask you to look around. See the activity and combination of all parties in the empire, see the stirring bustle of the Tories in all parts of England and of Scotland. From one extremity of the empire to the other—from Ramsgate and Canterbury up even to Perth (a laugh) from the highest to the lowest—from the Duke of Wellington to Lord Stormont—(bursts of laughter)—all are on the alert. Look again at Ireland. See the activity of the Orangemen and the Repealers—and are we—we the Reformers of England and Scotland—are we alone to remain supine and inactive ? (Cheers.) No, let us be up and stir-

ring. (Cheers.) Let us show our enemies that we will not be taken by surprise, and our friends and leaders that we are as determined as ever in the pursuit of our acknowledged rights. (Cheers.) We must not suffer the Reform Bill to become a dead letter, or what is worse, merely an instrument of party triumph; but we must make it what it ought to be, and what it shall be, (Cheers)—a great instrument of national regeneration. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I cannot adequately describe to you the importance which I attach to the present crisis. If the House of Commons in the next session of parliament do its duty to itself and the constituency, all may be right; but if, unfortunately, it should shrink from the high task which circumstances impose upon it, and if it should pursue an uncertain and vacillating course, irretrievable ruin will be the consequence. (Hear.) Let me ask you, however, one question. Have you no duty to perform? (Cries of Yes.) Ay, you have, you have an important and essential duty to perform, you have to keep a watchful eye over your representatives. (Great cheering and laughter, in which Mr. Oswald cordially joined.) You must show them that you are not to be trifled with, and you must require from them the reaping of that harvest, the seeds of which you have planted, and the coming of which you have waited for with such exemplary patience. (Loud cheering.) No doubt many and weighty obstacles will lie in your path, and in the path of your truly honest and indepen-

dent representatives; but all can be overcome with firmness and decision, though not with rashness and violence. (Cheers.) In the spirit of firmness and decision, you must act, for we have great and important objects still to accomplish. We have to require the perfecting of the Reform Act. (Cheers.) We have to require the repeal of the Septennial Act. (Cheers.) We have to require the purification of the Church establishments of England and Ireland from all acknowledged abuses. (Long continued cheering.) We have to demand the reform of corporation abuses in England, and the strictest continuance in economy and retrenchment. (Cheers.) No doubt there are many other measures emanating from these to which I have alluded, and on which my sentiments are well known. There may be some difference of opinion entertained with regard to some of them, but I have only alluded at present to those on which no friend of reform can entertain a doubt. Shall any one tell me that the attainment of these objects will be attended with danger to the institutions of the country? for that is the cry now attempted to be raised against us. (Cheers.) I would relieve the Dissenters and purify the church from abuses for the sake of justice and for the advancement of true religion. Is that attended with danger to the institutions of the country? (No, no.) I would reform corporations so as to make them what they profess, and what they ought to be, the correct representations of local rights. Is that attended with

danger to the institutions of the country? (No, no.)
 No.—I re-echo your words, and I assert that the true result of timely and not too long delayed reform is to preserve all that is valuable by removing all that is corrupt in our institutions. (Immense cheering.)
 These are my opinions, and these are my principles: I have never concealed them, and never will. (Cheers.) I would not accept the highest office in the gift of the crown; I would not even receive the warm enthusiastic approbation of you, my fellow-countrymen, if either were gained by the concealment of a single opinion or by the compromise of a single principle. (Cheers.) I am, moreover, determined that my opinions and principles shall be known and judged of from my own representations of them, and not from any false and interested description of them by others. By one party I am denounced as a destructive, by another as patronising the impatience of the people. (Cheers and laughter.)
 Now, my opinions are neither the one nor the other of these. I know too well the artificial and complicated state of society in this country, the absolute necessity of public confidence in the permanence of tranquillity, and the danger which arises from the interruption of the peaceful working of our commercial machinery, to propose any measure which should impede the flow of national industry and the regular operations of trade. (Cheers.) But it is because I wish to see tranquillity permanent, industry pro-

tected, commercial energy encouraged, that I advocate the necessity of an immediate and salutary reform, which will remove discontent before it has time to ripen into turbulence, (Cheers for some minutes) and will dissipate on the horizon those dark and hostile clouds, which, if suffered to burst in mid heaven, will not only disturb the serenity of the sky, but pour down on earth devastation and ruin. (Cheers.) Now, as to the charge of impatience. (Laughter.) It has been lately brought against us by one most eminent person, (Cheers and laughter) and, if I may judge from the report of a speech delivered in a distant part of the empire, in no very complimentary terms. But I will not follow the example which he has set me, and nothing shall fall from my lips inconsistent with his high station and his former services in the cause of his country. He has been pleased, for the allusion cannot be misunderstood, to challenge me to meet him in the House of Lords. (Laughter.) I know well the meaning of this taunt. He is aware of his infinite superiority over me in one respect, and so am I. (Cheers, and cries of No.) He is a practised orator and a powerful debater. I am not. I speak but seldom in Parliament, and always with reluctance in an assembly where I meet with no sympathy from an unwilling majority. (Cheers.) Do not, gentlemen, misunderstand me, when speaking of that majority. I will not condescend to ridicule those who form it at one

time, nor to flatter them at another. (Great cheering.) They differ from me conscientiously. I know that. They have been brought up to believe that all that we ask for is dangerous to the institutions of the country. I lament it; but I will not on that account impute to them improper motives. (Hear.) He knows full well the advantage which he has over me, and he knows too, that in any attack which he may make on me in the House of Lords, he will be warmly and cordially supported by them. (Cheers.) Yet, with these almost overwhelming advantages, I will meet him—I fear him not! (Loud and marked cheering from the whole meeting.) I will meet him, if it be unfortunately necessary to repeat what he was pleased to term, my criticisms. (Cheers.) And yet, without being suspected of fear, may I hope that these criticisms may be rendered unnecessary? Many of his colleagues were my associates in office, and some are still my private and intimate friends. Lord Melbourne I believe to be an honest and straightforward statesman, incapable of intrigue or treachery: and too enlightened not to see the course which events are taking, and how absolutely necessary it is to comply with the general demand for reform and improvement. I therefore trust that their wisdom, firmness, and discretion, will render all criticism unnecessary, and will leave only the grateful task of praise and acquiescence. And now to the charge itself. Impatience! The accusation is ab-

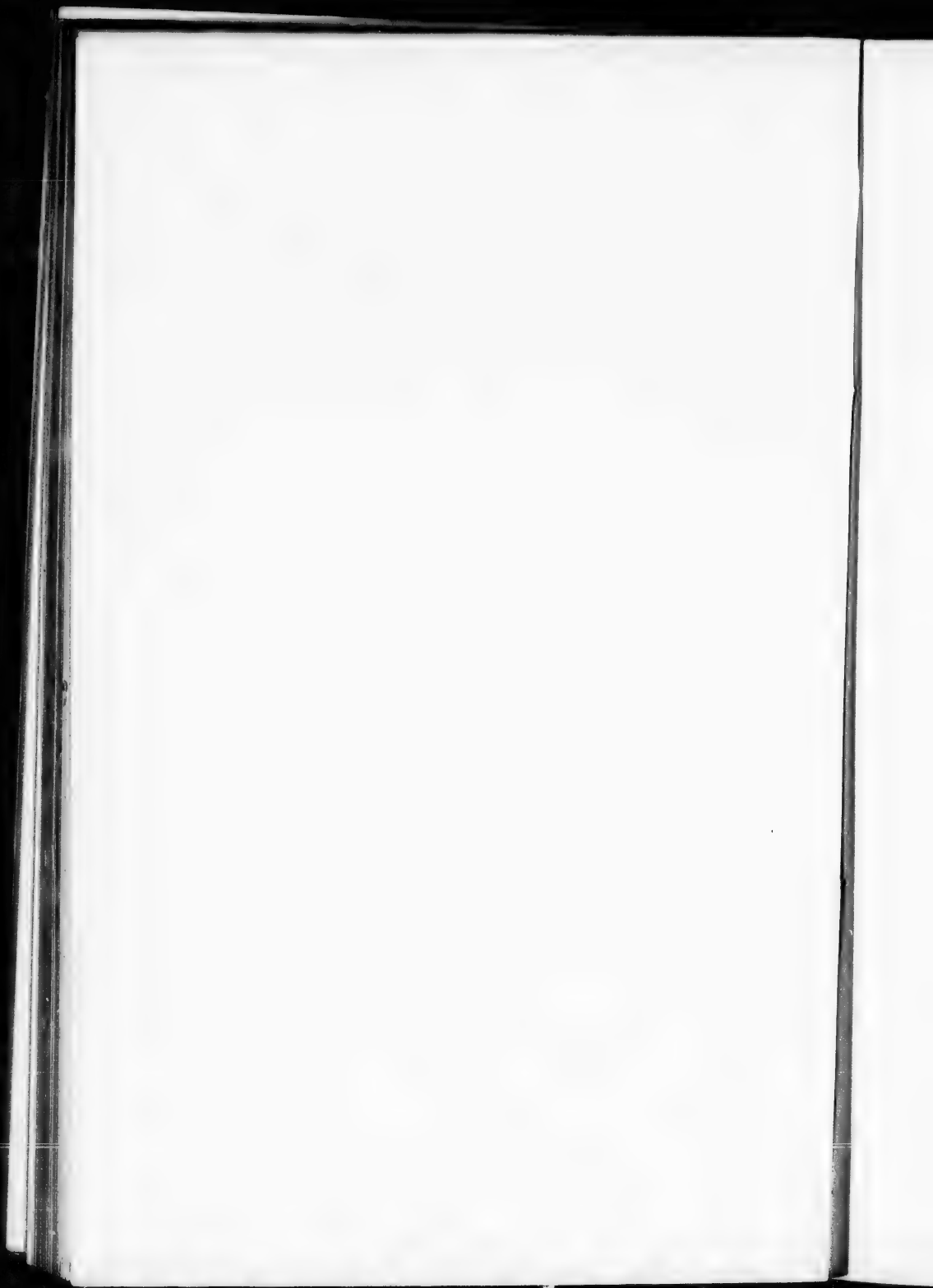
surd, I may almost say monstrous. Where and when has it been exhibited? Not in the House of Commons surely, where the government has received more continued and more constant support than any that ever preceded it. Not in the country surely; for whatever we may have felt, till the last few weeks we have said nothing, (Cheers,) and if at length our remonstrances have been made known, it was because that we feared that our silence would be misconstrued and perverted. (Cheers.) Another charge that has been brought against us is, that we wished for crude and undigested measures. Such a desire only exists in the imagination of the orator. (Cheers.) Why should we wish for crude and undigested measures? First of all we want measures—next we want measures fully considered, and not subject to mutilation and compromise, the ill effects of which I pointed out at another meeting. (Cheers.) And here let me observe, that when I alluded to the subject of compromise, I meant compromise with an enemy, not that fair concession which may and must occasionally take place with a friend. (Cheers.) There is no real reformer but will yield his opinion on minor points to those who are actuated by the same principles with himself; but what I object to is the system of mutilating and compromising to gain an enemy who cannot be conciliated. (Cheers.) I have already alluded to the difficulties in which the government has been placed, and in which it

gained the unflinching support of the House of Commons. There is, however, one difficulty which I have not yet seen pointed out, and which is at the same time so peculiar that I must be permitted to call your attention to it. We have a liberal administration, professing liberal principles, supported by an immense liberal majority in the House of Commons, and that majority returned by a liberal constituency; and yet, with a government so constituted, so maintained, and so supported, we have ministers surrounded in every department by Tory subalterns. The patronage of the army and of the Church is exercised by Tories, for the benefit of Tories. (Loud cheers and laughter.) All appointments by Bishops, by Judges, by Magistrates, and by Lords Lieutenant are Tory. (Cheers, and a cry of "Shame!") The diplomacy of the country is composed nearly of the same persons, with very few exceptions, as in the time of Lord Liverpool, and is almost entirely Tory. In short, the inferior instruments through which the liberal measures of a liberal Government are to be carried into effect, are anti-liberal. (Cheers.) How, I ask you, Gentlemen, is it possible that such a system can work harmoniously or beneficially to the interests of the country? (Cheers, and cries of "No.") Far rather would I have a Tory government, acting avowedly with Tory agents,—for then we should have our enemies before us, and not behind our

backs, than a liberal government, neutralised, checked, and thwarted by those who ought to be the main source of its efficiency. (Cheers.) Am I not right, then, in saying that Government is surrounded with difficulties? On whom, then, should they rely? Upon the House of Commons, and upon the liberals of England—upon the people, who have once before borne them triumphant through all their difficulties. (Tremendous cheers.) And it is with a full conviction of this necessity, and a full sense of the deep gratitude which they and we owe to those who stood forward, under most trying circumstances, to afford them relief, and to support the liberties of the country, that I come to the toast that has been placed in my hands. (Long continued cheering.) I am required by the stewards to give a sentiment in which I most cordially concur; and if I have not come to it earlier—if I have detained you at much greater length than I perhaps ought to have done, it is because I felt I was bound, as far as I was able, to prove—and I trust you will consider I have done so satisfactorily—(Cheers,)—that you are justified in honouring me as you have done this day, and to state to you, freely and unreservedly, the sentiments I entertain on all political subjects. I have done so; and I now call upon you, thanking you, in the first instance, for the kind and affectionate reception you have given me this day, seeing you agree with me

in the view I take of public affairs, to drink a sentiment which I adopt most loyally and most faithfully—"May the recollection of the glorious struggle for Reform, during the last half century, ever animate Britons in the demand for, and in the maintenance of their rights!"

The noble Earl resumed his seat amidst tumultuous cheers, and the toast was drunk with the greatest enthusiasm.



SPEECH

ON THE SAME OCCASION,

When proposing as a Toast, "The French People—the extension and consolidation of their Liberties, and the increase of their friendly relations with the British Nation."

THE Earl of DURHAM—Gentlemen, may I request your silent attention, for I am much afraid I shall not otherwise be able to introduce the toast I have undertaken. The exertions I have made this day have so much exhausted me, that I fear, unless you bear with me patiently, I shall not be able to address to you the few observations with which I think it necessary to preface the toast which the Committee have entrusted to me,—and it is one which in my opinion interests you particularly. Of any toast given this night, it is perhaps the most interesting to Glasgow, and the country at large; and, in giving it, I will venture to make a few observations, and state a few facts that will convince you I am correct

in attaching so much importance to it. The toast I am about to propose, is "The French People—the extension and consolidation of their Liberties, and the increase of their friendly relations with the British Nation." Now, Gentlemen, I have had many opportunities of late of communicating, not merely with the Sovereign or the higher classes of France, but with the middle classes, and it is impossible for me to describe the extraordinary change which has taken place in the sentiments of those classes with regard to the English people. You may remember that, during the unfortunate war that raged between the two countries, it was the object of Napoleon—of that great conqueror and despot, for he was both, to excite feelings of hatred against this country, in order to enable him more successfully to carry on his designs; while on the other hand there were men here who attempted, and, unfortunately, with too much success, to persuade the people of this country that the French were likely to continue our eternal, as they were then our inveterate enemies. But I rejoice to say that a great change has taken place in public opinion in France. The consolidation of the liberties of that country has produced a public feeling that has been expressed to me repeatedly, in the most gratifying terms, and very generally by those who compose the National Guard. They have expressed to me often their sincere delight at the intercourse which has taken place between the two countries, and stated their firm conviction that if

England and France remain united, it will not be in the power of any alliance, or any power in Europe, to disturb the general peace. Gentlemen, I have also formed that opinion on general grounds, and not merely on commercial principles ; but if I did not entertain it on the first, I would still more on grounds of selfish interests. How comes it that there is so little connection in the way of commercial intercourse between that country and us? Would you believe that the disproportion of intercourse between England and France and England and the Brazils, is to this extent, that while the produce of this country exported to France, amounts to only £500,000 a year, the annual amount of British produce exported to Brazil is more than £4,000,000. (Hear, hear.) The one country is only 25 miles off—the other 3000. The two countries are similar, not perhaps exactly, but to a considerable extent, in their laws and liberties ; and the dearest object I should have at my heart, if I had any concern in the administration of the affairs of this country, (Cheers and cries of hear, hear,) would be to make the mutual dependence of the two countries so certain and so strong that war would be absolutely impossible. (Continued cheering.) I regret to say that we can expect little from the French Government, because many of the Ministers of France are manufacturers themselves, and they are surrounded by monopolists who would prevent them, even if they were inclined, from making any change in the present commercial

relations of the two countries; but if they are backward in doing their duty, there has arisen a spirit in others not to be quelled. The whole of the South of France—all the outports have become united for the purpose of obtaining free trade; and in the next session of their Parliament, instead of there being only five or six Members, according to the best information I can get from a man who has been occupied in doing more good to his country than almost any other man—I mean Dr. Bowring, (Cheers,)—I say that from the information I have received from him, there will arise a party in favour of true and correct commercial policy that will prevent the Government from resisting public opinion, and the monopolists from any longer plundering the people. My friend, Mr. Wallace of Kelly, has put and answered a great number of questions on home affairs, which have apparently given the meeting every satisfaction; but let me put a few with regard to foreign affairs. Have the French people any knowledge of the extent to which they are injured by the present system? If they have not, I hope that the sentiments of so humble an individual as myself, if they have any weight and ever reach them, will meet with due consideration. In iron alone the French people annually pay to the monopolists £1,600,000, being the difference between the price of iron in England, and that which it bears in France. In fact, the French people in pursuance of this pernicious system sustain annually an aggregate loss of six-

teen millions. Now when these facts become known to them, will they not urgently demand their correction, more especially when they know that they do not prove of the slightest use? In spite of absolute prohibition, and three lines of Custom Houses, of one article of which the consumption amounts to one million, I understand that the quantity smuggled nearly reaches £700,000. I have seen this result stated in the report of a commission lately published, and I know also that a great proprietor of potteries has been obliged to declare that notwithstanding a protecting duty of 100 per cent. the manufacture cannot flourish. Why then is not the commercial intercourse with this country advanced? We have made advances which it will become the French Government to meet to a much greater extent than they have hitherto done. If we had the power of sending the manufactures of Glasgow, do they imagine that we would not take their wines and brandies? Nothing can be more absurd than for a country to force the production of an article not fitted for it either by its climate or the habits of the people. To remedy this untoward state of things, let us hope that these truths will be acknowledged both in France and in this country, and that we shall hear no objection against that free intercourse which can alone prevent the recurrence of war, and ensure a lasting peace between those countries who ought to have one common interest, and whom I trust I may live to see firmly united in the dearest

and closest bonds. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, I must apologise, at this late hour, for having obtruded upon you such dry details. (Cries of No, no.) At the same time I felt convinced that you would not grudge a few moments devoted to a country like France, just rising into political freedom, whose people are anxious to copy us in all that is good; and to whom we ought therefore to take care that we never show a bad example.

SPEECH

AT

MELROSE,

*On the 3rd of November, 1834, at a Dinner given to Mr.
DOUGLAS, by the Reformers of Roxburghshire.*

THE Earl of DURHAM rose and said,—Gentlemen, the events of this evening have indeed been a source of most unexpected pleasure and honour to me. When I arrived in this town I was not aware that it would fall to my lot to have the honour of meeting such a numerous and highly respectable assembly. I have received at Lanark the freedom of that burgh, at Biggar and Peebles addresses, but at Melrose I expected only that I should have the pleasure of visiting those venerable ruins which adorn the place, and admire the beauty of the adjacent scenery. The invitation tendered to me by your worthy chairman, I have however accepted at a very great personal in-

convenience, that I may have the honour of meeting the worthy and independent Reformers of this district. (Loud applause.) Gentlemen, at any time, I would have sacrificed my own convenience to have the pleasure of meeting such a band of reformers; be assured I shall ever render any assistance in my power to promote the welfare of the people, especially when they are assembled to pay just honour and respect to a calumniated reformer. (Cheers.) I trust, Gentlemen, this meeting will prove to him that the people are ever ready, if any individual is attacked on their account, to come forward to his rescue. (Cheers.) Mr. Douglas has told you that he has been calumniated by our common enemy. Well, Gentlemen, is he any thing the worse for it? I have been calumniated and misrepresented for twenty years; and I do not feel the worse for it. On the contrary, the more abuse is heaped on me, the more certain I am that I am a bitter thorn in the side of our enemies, and the more positive is the fact that I am rendering a service to the cause of Liberty and Independence. Let therefore your honourable guest take consolation from my experience. He has not seen so much of public life as I have. Instead, therefore, of complaining of the calumny and vituperation with which he has been assailed by his enemies, he ought to thank Providence that he has been singled out as the object of their attacks. It cannot be presumed that I am sufficiently versed in your local politics to know the course of those events

which have been referred to by your honourable guest. I have no doubt that he has correctly described them; but I beg him and you to recollect that the days are quite changed, when such practices can be allowed to exist. There is a tribunal, before which an appeal must be ultimately successful; and if your representatives possess your confidence, and I cannot doubt but they do, you have only to make your complaint through them to the House of Commons, and depend upon it, they must be reversed. (Cheers.) The all-conquering power of the press, and that of justice, is on your side; with these three combined, success is inevitable. (Great applause.) I tell you, Gentlemen, that it would be as impossible for that celebrated wizard, of whom we have heard and read in the mighty minstrel, as having divided the hills which overhang this town, I say, it would be as impossible for Michael Scott to reunite these hills, as it will be for any other Scott of the present day to overturn the principles of liberty and restore the reign of Toryism. (Immense applause.) I know very well, Gentlemen, you will have enough to do before you gain your point—I know that all the agency of power and wealth has been and will be employed against you, and that all the influence which can attach to an excellent private character—for there are many Tories to whom that attribute belongs—will be used to defeat your object; but still remember you have on your side the great, the essential, and the all-conquering arm of justice;

and backed by the remonstrances of the people, you will be sure to gain a victory, aye, as sure as that the light of to-morrow shall dispel the darkness of the night. (Cheers.) This is the first occasion that has presented itself to me since I have quitted the councils of his Majesty, of meeting any of my fellow subjects in these districts so justly celebrated. I avail myself of it with pleasure, and I beg you to recollect that although the difficulties of which you complain have occurred, yet you are not in that degraded state of political subserviency as when parliamentary representation was a mere mockery. (No, no.) It surely is some consolation to know that you are now freed from the disgrace which attached to those proceedings, and that you have the certain prospect of a remedy, even should the boon conferred upon you be still insufficient. I hardly know, Gentlemen, how it is possible for a stranger coming into your town, and simply passing through it, sufficiently to thank you for your kindness. You have arrested me in my progress by the kind violence of your affections. I have already experienced the good effects of that plea of taking the law into your own hands, to which allusion has been made by Mr. Douglas, and though you have been guilty of a violence, yet I do not regret it, since it has given me an opportunity of seeing men whom I rejoice to find enthusiastic in support of those principles which I have ever advocated. If, Gentlemen, I take my leave sooner than I could wish, it is because I am under the necessity

of returning home immediately, in consequence of the indisposition of one of my family. I trust and hope that you will entertain the sincere belief that there is not among you one more anxious for the assertion of your political rights and privileges than I am. If at any time in my place in Parliament I can be of service to the advancement of your interests,—if at any time my humble services can be useful to your cause, you may command them, as every one of your countrymen may, at all times.

Lord Durham then retired, amidst loud cheers, which continued for some time.

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K E L S O ,

November 4, 1834.

LORD DURHAM, after dining at Melrose, with the gentlemen assembled in honour of Mr. Douglas, on Monday, arrived at Kelso in the evening, and slept at the Cross Keys Hotel. At a quarter to nine on Tuesday Morning it being ascertained that his Lordship had not left the Town, it was resolved (there being no time to call a public meeting) that an Address should be presented to him, by those gentlemen who preside over the various bodies of the place. Upon this being intimated to the Earl of Durham, he politely declared his willingness to delay his departure until the deputation could make the requisite arrangements. Accordingly a meeting of the inhabitants was convened in the Cross Keys Assembly Room, when Bailie Main, on presenting the Address to his Lordship, spoke as follows :—

My Lord,—I have the honour to be deputed by a few of my townsmen, who have hastily met this morning, to pay a small tribute of respect to your Lordship's public character. We were not aware of your Lordship remaining overnight, or I doubt not, that the Reformers of Kelso would have made a more public demonstration of their feelings. Your Lordship, as well as some of us, had an opportunity yesterday of witnessing a public feeling displayed at Melrose, which must have convinced you that the county of Roxburgh is not behind the Reformers of any part of the country in evincing a spirit of independence. And though we cannot now, on so short a notice, pay you more publicly, those marks of respect which we consider adequate to your deserts, yet, I may refer, with some degree of pride, to the testimony lately given by the inhabitants of this district in honour of your esteemed relative, Earl Grey, to shew that the town of Kelso is not behind other places on such occasions, in paying that tribute of respect and esteem, which was so justly his due. This Address, my Lord, is, however, intended to convey to you the opinion of that straightforward and consistent conduct, which my constituents admire in your Lordship's character. You are in some measure aware of the strenuous exertions which have been lately made to suppress the exercise of that public spirit which prevails in this country. And, my Lord, we, like every other country similarly situated, are subjected to the calumny of being revo-

lutionists, and as wishing to overturn the institutions of the country. The intelligence of the people of Scotland generally is a guarantee against revolutionary feelings, and I may assure your Lordship that, in this country, the Reformers are not so disposed. It is the amendment of our institutions, and not their overthrow, to which they look forward in maintaining those principles, on which Lord Grey's administration took office, of which your Lordship was a member; and, though now retired from office, they still look to your Lordship, as one who is likely to exert himself for the promotion of the public good. I will not detain your Lordship by saying more, and I therefore beg your Lordship will allow me to read the Address.—

TO THE

RT. HON. THE EARL OF DURHAM, &c. &c.

MY LORD,—In the name of the Reformers of Kelso, we beg leave to approach your Lordship, to assure you of their unaltered sentiments of esteem and gratitude. In times, when it was dangerous to be so, you were the champion of the people's rights. You were a chief supporter of the Reform Bill, one of the greatest boons the nation ever received from its governors; and, though you have chosen for a time to retire from the councils of your Sovereign, your voice and example must ever strongly stimulate those in power to pursue measures calculated to increase the public weal.

That your Lordship may long continue to enjoy as much of private happiness as of public honour is the heartfelt wish of,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servants,

(Signed) GEORGE MAIN, Bailie,
 JOHN CRAIG, Convener,
 WILLIAM MILLS, Preses of the Town Council,
 JOHN HILL, Preses of the Merchant Company,
 JOHN WALDIE, Town Treasurer,
 WILLIAM ARCHIBALD, Town Clerk,
 WILLIAM ROBSON, Deacon.

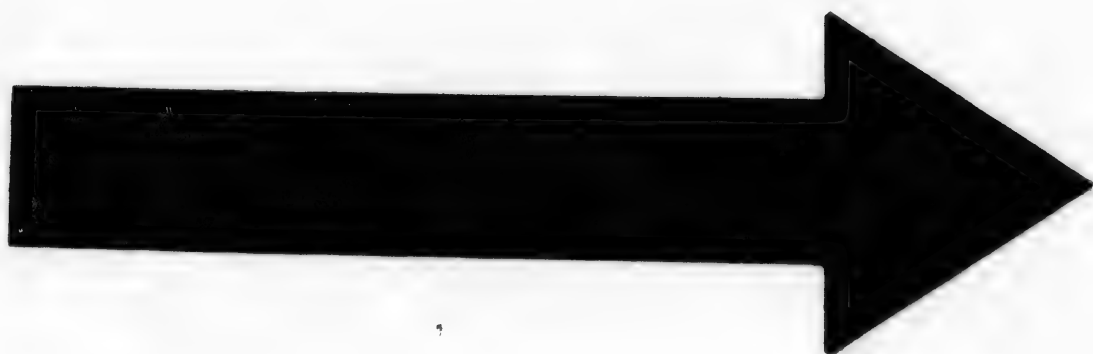
Lord Durham, on receiving the Address, spoke to the following effect :—

Gentlemen, I beg to express to you my sincere and grateful acknowledgments for the honour you have conferred upon me. I rejoice in the expression of congratulation which I have now received, because it affords me an opportunity of making acquaintance with the reformers of this ancient and honourable burgh. It is indeed a most gratifying circumstance to me, claiming as I do the honour of Scottish ancestry, to reflect that, from the moment I left home, up to this hour when I am about to leave Kelso, and cross the Border, I have received nothing but the most flattering testimonies of confidence and approbation, from all classes, in every place through which I have passed. At Lanark I received the ad-

dress of the inhabitants, and was honoured with the freedom of that ancient burgh. At Biggar and at Peebles I received addresses, containing sentiments similar to those contained in this, which I now hold in my hand; and, lastly, at Melrose I was invited to dine with the reformers of that district, met to testify their regard for Mr. Douglas, a much honoured and calumniated individual. It is indeed gratifying to my heart to find that my humble exertions in Parliament, and in the councils of my King, have met with the approbation of so enlightened a community, for so the inhabitants of Scotland are allowed by universal consent to be. Allusion has been made in the Address to the exertions which I have made in the cause of the people. I can only say that, from the earliest period of my entrance into public life, I have never swerved from that straightforward and independent line of conduct which I have marked out; nor from that path of honour which led me to advocate—not principles leading to anarchy and revolution, but the just rights of an intelligent and a free people; because I have ever felt convinced, that, with the promotion of their rights and of their independence, is connected the welfare and prosperity of the country. In bringing about that great measure of Reform which we enjoy, I have been only a humble instrument in the hands of Earl Grey, to whom, under every circumstance, and in every place, I never will cease to render that praise which is justly his due: I claim nothing more

for myself than the merit of having assisted him in framing the Reform Bill. In mentioning the name of Earl Grey, I cannot refrain from repeating the expressions of that delight which he experienced at the reception he met with in this place. He expressed to you, much more efficiently than I can, his feelings at a reception so very different from that which would have greeted his ancestors, when England and Scotland were separate and contending nations. But what cause of thankfulness it is, that we are now contending, not for life, but for political privileges! All classes of society either are engaged, or ought to be engaged, in one common object, namely, the promotion of their mutual rights and interests, and not in destroying one another by sanguinary warfare. Gentlemen, I have never, in the councils of my country, or in the course which I have pursued elsewhere, had but one object on earth in view. For this I would undergo any calumny, endure any fatigue, for which I would sacrifice my health, nay, life itself, if it were necessary; and that object is to endeavour to unite all classes of society in one common cause, to prevent the prevalence of those unfortunate feelings of irritation and resentment, which counteract the beneficial exercise of those mental and moral powers which are vested in the inhabitants of this country: to show to the higher classes that they ought to mix more frequently with those in the humbler walks of life; and, on the other hand, to convince the lower classes, however desirous they

may be to obtain those political rights, which they consider they are entitled to possess, from their intelligence and industry, that they must attain and acquire them by peaceable and quiet means. It is as certain as that the rising sun, in its course, shall attain the mid heaven, that they must be successful in obtaining their object, if they continue constant in that course which I would wish them to pursue; and if they show themselves to be possessed of an intelligence equal to these rights, their endeavours must be crowned with complete success. Allusion has been made, in the able and eloquent address of the gentleman who has just concluded, to the meeting which took place at Melrose yesterday. It was to me a most unexpected pleasure to have received, in the different places through which I passed, testimonies of respect, but I had no conception of meeting with such a popular demonstration of feeling connected with the great cause of Reform. When, however, Sir David Erskine, and the other gentlemen connected with the meeting, waited upon me, and expressed their wish to see me join their party; it was not in human nature to refuse the invitation, and not to avail myself of the favourable opportunity of meeting so many intelligent and respectable Reformers. It cannot be expected that I should enter into the discussion of your local politics, since I am not sufficiently acquainted with them, but, I know this much of them, because they are the same in all parts. Here, as elsewhere, there will be



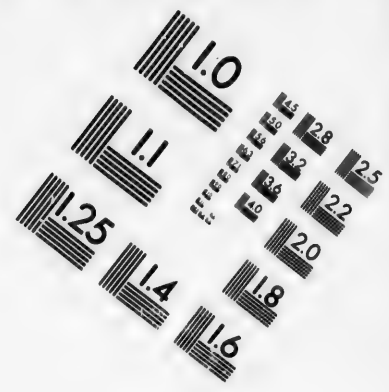
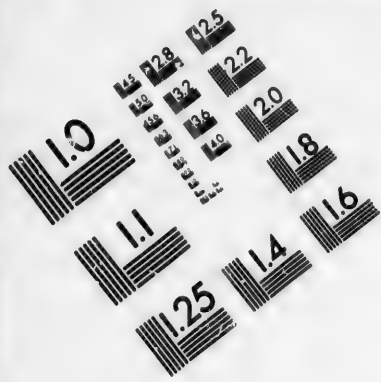
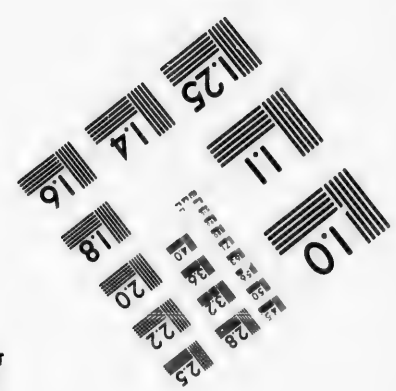
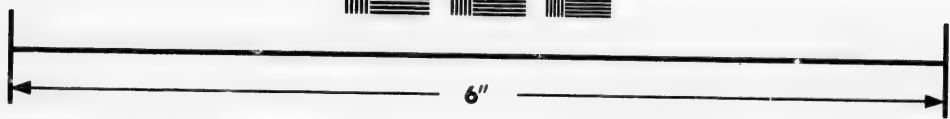
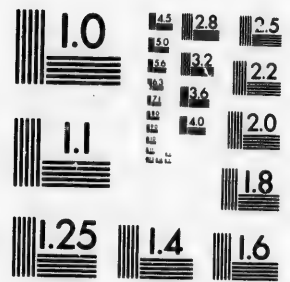
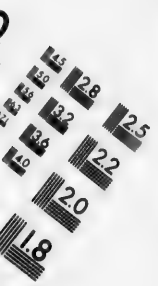


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the struggle of independence against power : here, no doubt, rights will be in danger of being invaded ; and here, too, we shall find that enthusiasm will successfully resist both power and wealth. I ought, gentlemen, to apologise for having detained you so long ; but, when I have the pleasure of meeting with any number of my fellow-countrymen in the way we have now come together, I am most anxious not only to hear their sentiments, but to communicate mine. Let there be no mistake ; I wish every thing I do, and say, to be known and understood. The object which I have in view is not a personal one. If the principles which I have so strenuously advocated are adopted by others, I will willingly yield to them. I have no wish to intrude my services upon the country : only let these principles be maintained and adopted, and I shall retire into private life, perfectly satisfied. I never will cease to advocate what I conceive to be for the best interests of society, and shall ever pursue that object until we attain the realisation of those principles which I deem essential to the welfare and prosperity of the country. It is, indeed, truly gratifying to me to know that the conduct which I have hitherto pursued has gained the confidence of my fellow-countrymen ; and I trust you will find that no occasion of my future life will lead you to disclaim that good opinion contained in the sentiments of this address, and that confidence which you have reposed in me.

The whole of the proceedings closed by the departure of his Lordship at 10 o'clock. Notwithstanding the unprecedented and hurried manner in which this important demonstration was made, there were not fewer than 200 of the inhabitants assembled in the Cross Keys Assembly Room.

GREAT PUBLIC DINNER
TO THE
EARL OF DURHAM,
AT
NEWCASTLE.

THIS great public manifestation of the attachment of the Reformers of the North, to the noble champion of Reform, which had excited so much interest in every political circle, during the last month, took place, in the great Assembly Room in Westgate Street, on Wednesday the 19th of November. The high position to which Lord Durham's frank and manly declarations on the subject of the Reforms still required by the people, as necessary to the furtherance of the great work of national regeneration, have elevated him, would have imparted a high degree of importance to this festival, under any circumstances; but occurring, as it did, so immediately after the sweeping changes that have just taken

place in the government of the country, it became an object of universal attention and of the deepest interest.

Lord Durham arrived at Newcastle on Tuesday afternoon. It was the intention of the working classes to have honoured him with a public entry on the following day; but as the state of his Lordship's health would not allow him to undergo the fatigue of such a ceremony, the idea was reluctantly abandoned. On Wednesday morning, however, a numerous meeting of those classes was held in the Music Hall, on the subject of the ministerial changes. In the course of the afternoon large bodies of men paraded the streets, with banners and bands of music. His Lordship had fixed four o'clock as the hour at which he would receive the addresses voted to him at a meeting of the working classes, held in the Guildhall on Tuesday se'night, and by the stewards of the different incorporated companies, at a meeting of that body. An immense crowd collected in front of the Queen's Head inn, to which his Lordship had repaired for the purpose, by whom he was most enthusiastically greeted on alighting from his carriage. His Lordship received the deputations in a private apartment; but the attendance of persons anxious to be present at the ceremony was so great, that his Lordship readily consented to adjourn to the long room. Here, Mr. Blakey, the chairman of the meeting of the working classes, read the following address, to which his Lordship listened with great attention.

Some of the more striking passages were much applauded by the spectators, amongst whom we observed some of the most respectable and intelligent men in Newcastle and the neighbourhood :

TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DURHAM.

WE, the inhabitants of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, in public meeting assembled, hasten to congratulate your Lordship on the declaration you lately made in favour of the liberal opinions so long advocated by your fellow-countrymen.

We have not forgot, my Lord, your steady and unflinching opposition, during the period of twenty years, to the attempts made by corrupt administrations to enslave the country, and render Englishmen the merest serfs to an unprincipled oligarchy. We have anxiously watched your political career ; we have appreciated the magnanimity which spurned the restraint of conventional exclusiveness and party prejudice ; we have built hopes upon the spirit which prompted you in 1815 to defend the cause of national independence, in 1819 to assert the rights of the people, and in 1821 to compose and introduce a bill for Parliamentary Reform. We call to mind (among many others) your bold and energetic denunciation of the bloody authors of the Manchester massacre, and your injunction that these appalling facts should be related to our children and children's children, and written in the annals of our country in letters of blood ; and now our most sanguine desires seem realised by the proud declaration that " your principles remain the same ; " that you stand singly forward, alone of all your order, and dare insist that the rights of the industrious classes shall no longer be denied them. That household suffrage, " which cannot be misunderstood," shall be the basis of representation ; that voters shall be protected from the inducements of wealth and the threats of power ; that the

septennial act was an insolent and daring assumption of authority never intended to be delegated; in plain terms, that the people are entitled to household suffrage, vote by ballot, and triennial parliaments.

These three great principles, my Lord, form the ground-work from which we expect a good and cheap government, not supported by a State church, profligate patronage, pensioners, and a standing army in the time of peace, but based on the affections of an industrious and intelligent people.

We trust to these to put an end to the disgusting political factions that have long distracted and benumbed the best energies of the State; to rear up a code of criminal and civil law, administered alike to the peer and the peasant; to destroy all exclusive privileges, civil, ecclesiastical, corporate, naval, and military: to change the odious bread tax, for one on luxuries; to remove the imposts that press heavy on the working artisans to those who ought, in just reason, to bear them; to annihilate the countless herd of lazy sinecurists, pluralists, and monopolists; to protect the productive industry of the State; to abolish the horrid law of impressment in the navy, and the barbarous system of flogging in the army; to give to Ireland, instead of gagging bills and bayonets, the benefits she has ever been denied, of a mild and paternal government; and to raise merit, untrammelled by the debasing system of patronage, which destroys independence, and falsely ennobles the miserable minions of power.

In thus tendering to you, my Lord, the expressions of our sentiments, and the interest we take in your personal welfare, we trust we may safely indulge in the hope "that the time will come" when you may be called upon to fill a higher situation, to preside, as it were, over the destinies of your country; and, when it arrives, we feel confident your Lordship will press forward in the same path, that, at no very distant period, both your views, and the views of all who address you in Newcastle, may be acknowledged by every Englishman to have been entertained for the true interests of the State; and should you, my Lord, be taunted that the people are not yet sufficiently enlightened to bear these political changes, you

may exclaim to these vindictive dictators,—give to the people a sound moral and political education, and, by removing the obnoxious taxes on knowledge, shew you have some sympathy for their improvement.

In taking leave of you, my Lord, we trust you will carry our feelings to that house in which sentiments like those entertained by your Lordship, are, unhappily, too rare not to be conspicuous. Strong in the justice of our cause, you will be unappalled by the opposition of the interested, the prejudiced, or the timid; and you will demand and obtain redress for us from that order of which you are now the ornament, and of which you may, ultimately, be the salvation.

At the conclusion of the address, Lord DURHAM said,—In delivering to you my answer to this address, I beg you will convey to those you represent my extreme regret that the weak state of my health has rendered it impossible for me to state to them in person the sentiments you will find embodied in this paper. It is a matter of deep regret to me, because you have had sufficient experience of me to know, that so far am I from shrinking from any opportunity of meeting assembled bodies of my countrymen, I seize it with avidity, because I know the sentiments there expressed will be such as do honour to the character and intelligence of the people. (Applause.) It is, therefore, a matter of deep regret that I find myself compelled to request you to convey to them the sentiments I now express to you. His Lordship then read the following reply :—

I thank you for this expression of your confidence in me. I value it the more, as I have never descended to unworthy means to gain

it. I have never concealed my difference of opinion with you, even on points on which your feelings were most strongly excited; but at the same time, whenever your actions have been misrepresented, or your views maligned, I have never hesitated to vindicate both. You do me but justice when you acknowledge the consistency of my political conduct. The principles which guided me in 1815, 1819, and 1821, are those which now influence me. The declarations which I lately made, in Scotland, to which you refer, are simply references to opinions which I have long entertained. It is true that I have not succeeded in obtaining acquiescence in their justice and expediency. I trust, however, mainly to the effect to be produced by your own conduct, for that increasing conviction of the propriety of those concessions, which will best ensure ultimate success. You have great obstacles to contend with. Your open, undisguised enemies, the Anti-reformers—the Tories—have been called to his councils by the King. They are once more in the possession of all the force of government, and will use it against you without scruple or hesitation. Yet this power, great as it is, may be successfully opposed by firmness and perseverance, tempered by moderation. I beg you to remember that the participation in those political privileges which you claim, was never justified, in former times, by the fitness of the people to enjoy them. But of late, the increased intelligence, and improved education of the industrious classes, have enabled their friends to assert, that their admission to political power would be a measure as safe and expedient as it would be just. Every fresh proof, therefore, that you give of your steadiness, your sound opinions, and your peaceable demeanour, strengthens the hands of your advocates, and weakens the opposition of your enemies. By a steady adherence to such a line of conduct—more especially at the present most alarming crisis,—you will dissipate the prejudices of those who imagine they see, in your emancipation, not merely destruction to their exclusive privileges, but danger to their very political existence. You will prove that your enjoyment of political freedom is not incompatible with their security, and that our Constitution is endowed with sufficient elasticity to enable all classes to find shelter and protection within its precincts. The ac-

complishment of these objects may be the work of time, but in awaiting their fulfilment, you have one consolation. If the portals of that Constitution are not thrown open as wide as you would wish, they are not, as before, entirely closed. There is not one amongst you who may not, by his industry and good conduct, obtain that qualification which confers the elective privilege. For the sake, therefore, of the due exercise of that which is within your reach, as well as the attainment of that which you covet, I implore you to exhibit to the country moderation and forbearance. If these characteristics of a just cause continue to mark your proceedings, you will acquire the support, and command the services, of all who, like myself, consider that the great strength of the empire is to be found in the union and concord of all classes, and are, therefore, most anxious to promote every measure tending to your contentment and the amelioration of your condition.

Mr. Brown, solicitor, then stepped forward to present the address of the Stewards of the Incorporated Companies, of which the following is a copy:—

TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF DURHAM.

We, the stewards of the incorporated Companies of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, with feelings of great gratification, have the honour to express to your Lordship our admiration of the manly manner in which you have declared your advocacy of a Reform in all municipal corporations, and national abuses generally, and your support of the three great principles, triennial parliaments, household suffrage, and vote by ballot.

Although we may, from our position in this corporation, be presumed to be in favour of exclusive privileges, yet such is not the

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act. We long since declared our conviction that the time had arrived, when an extension of the suffrage to the householder was required for the peace of the country. We have petitioned his Majesty and both houses of Parliament for a reform in the abuses of this self-elected body, and we demanded a more popular election, and control over their acts; that aldermen might be elected annually, and by the bulk of the people; and we find our petitions as yet unanswered.

We now, my Lord, are prepared to assert, that we will always support liberal men and liberal measures; and in reference to the dismissal of Lord Melbourne from office, we hesitate not to affirm, that no Tory administration can ever exist in this country.

We trust, my Lord, your health will enable you to accomplish our best wishes for the furtherance of good government, and hail this your public visit to Newcastle as the commencement of an era which has been long anxiously expected by every well-wisher to his country.

To this his Lordship returned the following reply :

Gentlemen,—I receive with feelings of deep gratitude, this mark of your approbation of my political conduct. The sentiments which you express in your Address to me, are such as become free-men and Englishmen, and entitle you to the support of every true Reformer.

The time is now come when your professions will be put to the test. You will have to prove by your actions, whether liberty and Reform, or slavery and Toryism, are to be triumphant.

The greatest exertions will be required from you individually and collectively. Be firm—uncompromising—and, above all, united. A dissolution of Parliament must soon occur—remember that the elective franchise is a sacred trust—and that on the due and patriotic exercise of it, depend the liberties and the peace of the country.

The noble Earl then withdrew, amidst repeated and hearty cheers. On returning to his room, it was intimated to him that the multitude outside were very anxious that he should address them personally. He accordingly stepped forward to a window, on appearing at which he was greeted with all the affectionate cordiality that was wont to mark his reception by assemblages of the people, in this district, whenever he appeared before them, during the time he served the county of Durham as its representative in Parliament. His Lordship spoke a few words, explaining the cause of his inability to address them at length, and telling them that his sentiments would be communicated to them in another manner. He thanked them for the kindness they had evinced towards him, which shewed that they were the same ardent friends of liberty and freedom now that they were in former days, and he trusted would ever continue. His Lordship having retired from the window, in doing which several persons pressed forward to have the honour of shaking him by the hand, the populace slowly dispersed.

The dinner was announced for 5 o'clock; but it was nearly an hour later before the party sat down. It was one of the most gratifying "gatherings" we ever had the happiness to witness. It was a concentration of all that was most valuable in intellect, character, and patriotism in the town and neighbourhood. The number of gentlemen who dined was 436—the greatest number that the room, which is

the most spacious in Newcastle, could possibly contain without confusion and discomfort. Had the accommodation been sufficient, not a doubt is entertained that quite as many persons would have rallied round the noble guest as met him in Glasgow. As it was, high premiums were given for tickets. The arrangements, according to their extent, were, in every respect, most judicious and satisfactory. At the lower end of the room a spacious gallery was erected. In one corner of this an excellent band of music was placed; and the remaining space was reserved for the reception of ladies, by whom, in the course of the evening, it was completely filled, and who seemed to be as highly gratified by the proceedings as any other individuals in the room.

W. H. Ord, Esq., M.P. for Newport, took the chair. The Recorder of Newcastle, Dr. Headlam, W. Wharton Burdon, James Losh, and George Burnett, Esqrs., were the croupiers. On the right of the chair sat the Earl of Durham; W. Ord, Esq., the former member for Morpeth; Mr. Hutt, M.P. for Hull; Capt. Boss, M.P. for Northallerton; W. H. Charlton, Esq., of Hesleyside; and W. Marshall, Esq., of Cumberland. On the left were Sir W. Chaytor, Bart., M.P. for Sunderland, Mr. Rippon, M.P. for Gateshead; Mr. James, M.P. for Carlisle; Mr. Gully, M.P. for Pontefract; and the Rev. W. Hawks of Gateshead.—Amongst the company were Lt. Col. Beckwith, of Trimdon House; John Cookson, Esq., of Whitehill; Thos. Fenwick,

Esq., of Black Dean; G. Fenwick, Esq., of Pallion; The Mayor of Durham; J. Grey, Esq., of Dilston; N. Leadbitter, Esq., of Warden; R. Bowlby and T. Wawn, Esqrs., of Shields; The Rev. T. Shipperdson, and W. Green, Esq., of Durham; W. L. Prattman, Esq., of Copley Lodge; T. B. Pease, Esq., of Leeds; J. Ramsay, Esq., of Winlaton; G. Hawks, Esq., of Gateshead, &c., &c., &c.

At the conclusion of the repast, the Countess of Durham and Lady Fanny Lambton, with Mrs. Headlam and a party of friends, entered the gallery, and were received with the most tumultuous plaudits, waving of handkerchiefs, and every other demonstration of a hearty and joyous welcome.

On the removal of the cloth, "*Non nobis, Domine*," was sung by Messrs. Auckland, Leybourne, and Liddell; after which the Chairman gave "The King." Drunk with three times three, mingled, however, with considerable manifestations of disapprobation.

The next toast was "The Queen," which was received with a loud burst of disapprobation, mingled with cheers.

The Chairman then gave "The Princess Victoria." Drunk with three times three, and loud and enthusiastic applause.

"The people, the only source of legitimate power," was next given, and drunk with immense applause.

The Chairman, having called for a bumper, said it was satisfactory to him that the toast which he had next the honour to propose, and which was the health

of the noble Earl who was that evening their guest—(Great applause)—required no speech from him to recommend it to that enthusiastic reception which they had already given to it. It was well that from the proposer of the toast no panegyric was required ; for he felt, and they all must feel, the difficulty under which he must labour in giving expression to his feelings, with reference to that toast ; but though he was relieved from that part of his task he still felt that a few words were necessary for him, because he knew that he was placed there for no other reason but because he entertained sentiments congenial with theirs ; and he thought that a few words, on their behalf, on the feelings and sentiments which had called them together, would not be misplaced. (Great applause.) He spoke not of the present momentous crisis, brought on by the intrigues and infatuation of the court ; but if, at the time when that meeting was originated, it was thought important that there should be an understanding between the people and their leaders, that there should be a union of all Reformers, he thought it was their duty, to shew that if a timid and vacillating course of policy would call in vain for national support, those who would not shrink from pursuing in a straightforward uncompromising manner the cause of the people, would find, in the hour of need, that support from an enlightened nation, without which no effectual resistance could be given to the power of influence and established abuse—if that was their opinion then, what was it now ?

If they sought an occasion to express their feelings, one which would be liable to no mistake—if they looked among those who had fought beneath the banners of reform, through good report and through bad report, among those who would bear it forward in its onward, aye, and in its still triumphant course—if they looked among the leaders of England's best Reformers for one, whom, as a Reformer of the north, they could call their own, where was the true Reformer who would not seek him in the noble Earl? (Cheers.) And if they chose the time when the echo of his manly declaration at Edinburgh reverberated in the breast of every Reformer in the empire, if they chose the time when that declaration was still ringing in the ears of the enemies of improvement, who would say that the invitation to the noble Earl to receive this tribute of their admiration was not a significant expression of their political feeling? (Cheers.) With any remarks on what had since taken place he would not then trouble them; he might afterwards have occasion to allude to them; he would no longer stand between them and the toast to which they had given so enthusiastic a reception, and the speech which they would hear from the noble Lord.

The health of the Earl of Durham was then drunk with nine times nine, and long continued applause.

THE EARL OF DURHAM rose, and was standing some minutes before the enthusiastic cheers of the assembly would allow him to proceed. His Lordship

spoke to the following effect :—Gentlemen, I am really at a loss to express to you the feelings which oppress me on the present occasion, receiving as I do this warm testimony of your approbation. I will not say that this reception surpasses in warmth and enthusiasm those which I have experienced in other parts of the empire ; but if it does not surpass them, at least it equals them, and it has also one quality attached to it, in which the others were necessarily deficient, for, gentlemen, here I feel that I am at home. (Great cheering.) I am surrounded by my friends and neighbours. You have known me from my childhood, and your testimony, therefore, must bear the stamp of long-tried experience. (Hear, hear.) Gentlemen, on the present occasion, I feel as one who, after the splendid ceremonies of some great pageant in which he had been honoured far beyond his merits, retires to his own home, to his dear fire-side, to receive the affectionate welcome, and the endearing congratulations of his family and his friends. (Cheers.) Your invitation therefore, to me, and your reception of me this day, are peculiarly gratifying to me. (Hear.) If I were indeed the person that I am described to be, by hired libellers and calumniators, (Great cheering,) would you have rallied round me as you have done to-day ? (Cries of No, no, and cheers.) No, gentlemen, sure I am that no political considerations upon earth would ever have induced you to flock round me, if I had been such as I have been described by those persons.

(Cheers.) If, gentlemen, I had been such as I have been represented by some, an oppressor of the poor, instead of honouring you would have disowned me. Happily I can say with truth and justice, that among the many thousands who depend for their daily sustenance upon me, there is not one that would raise his voice against me; knowing as they all do full well that their happiness, their comfort, and their welfare, are the dearest objects of my heart. (Cheers.) Again, gentlemen, if I had been the proud aristocrat that it has been the pleasure of some to call me, should I have had, both in public and private, the support and friendship of all classes, from the highest to the lowest? (Cheers.) The real secret, gentlemen, is, that I have too much pride to compromise with the base and the unworthy. (Great cheering.) I have ever unshrinkingly exposed their misdeeds and their false pretensions. Therefore is it that I have incurred their unrelenting enmity. (Cheers.) I have, however, the consolation of knowing that their hatred and enmity are the best and surest passports to the approbation of all good men. Besides, I know that there is as much sound sense, as much true honour, and as much real independence to be found under the coarse working jacket of a mechanic as beneath the ermined robe of the peer. Gentlemen, I have already alluded to the reception I have met with in other parts of the country. It is impossible for me to describe the splendour of the scene that I witnessed at Glasgow. I saw the

immense population of that great commercial city, to the amount of at least 150,000, pouring forth in order, harmony, and good-will towards their superiors, entertaining strong political feelings with respect to all that passed around them ; feeling, perhaps too strongly, the degradation in which they were placed ; and yet with all those temptations and incitements to violence, not a single word was uttered that could disturb the nicest ear of the most timid alarmist. Since I came back from Scotland I am more proud than ever of my countrymen, impressed as I am with the strongest conviction of the good sense and feeling of the people, showing, as they did in that instance, their political feelings in a way that would have done credit to the wisest and best educated. Gentlemen, upon that occasion I was honoured by the working classes of the west of Scotland with the presentation of addresses, embodying their sentiments and wishes, and particularly referring to those demands, or rather claims, which they conceived they had a right to make upon the Legislature of the country. I felt it my duty on that occasion, to give them every information in my power, as to my sentiments with regard to the great and important subjects to which they referred. I need not remind you that I allude more particularly to one part of their address—viz., that which contained a statement in favour of household suffrage, shortening the duration of Parliaments, and the ballot ; and if I refer to them now more particularly, it

is for the purpose of stating to you more explicitly than I was enabled to do at that time, what I meant when I responded to the sentiments contained in that address. It was not necessary for me, at that moment, to say more in regard to the first of these points—to wit, household suffrage, than that I had already declared my sentiments on the subject in Parliament. They are upon record, and are open to the inspection of all. There may, however, be some who have not had an opportunity of consulting them, and it therefore may be as well for me to state particularly what it is I refer to, when I said that I supported household suffrage in Parliament. I refer to a motion which I made in the House of Commons in 1821 upon that subject. The amount and kind of suffrage which I then proposed to establish, I explained in my speech, which was published at the time, and also in the bill which was printed with it. I will read to you the words that I used on that occasion:—"I am not presumptuous enough to imagine that the course I recommend is the only one befitting us to adopt, but I think it fair to state at once and openly, how far I think a change beneficial." What I then stated, I now repeat. I do not suppose that my doctrines alone are the right ones. I merely put forward candidly and openly to the world that which I imagine to be the best. I do not want all other Reformers to sacrifice their opinions to mine, nor am I inclined pertinaciously to adhere to a proposition if I am shown that a better can be adopted in its

stead. I seek, amongst honest and fair Reformers, for the mutual discussion and deliberate canvas of opinions. The following are the terms in which, in the speech already referred to, I introduced my proposition for household suffrage :—"The right of voting I propose in these districts should be given to all inhabitant householders *bonâ fide* rated to church or poor, or assessed to and paying direct taxes for six months previous to the first day of election, not having received parochial relief." Such a right of voting amounted, as my learned friend in the chair can inform you, to what in law is commonly known under the acceptance of "household suffrage." I will fairly own that the proposition did not originate with me; indeed it would not have been befitting a man so young as I was at the time to come forward as the originator of a measure of such magnitude and importance. I only adopted it after it had been the subject of long and deliberate examination by men of far greater ability and experience than I could pretend to. It was first originally proposed in the declaration of the friends of the people in 1797, of which meeting my father was chairman. [Cheers.] It was next brought forward in a motion made by Lord Grey in the same year, on which occasion Lord Grey proposed that the country should be divided into districts, and that household suffrage should be established. If you turn back to the debate on that occasion, you will find that the proposition was supported by Mr. Fox, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Erskine.

Furthermore, according to Mr. Wyvill's published statement by authority, Mr. Pitt himself was in 1785 an advocate for household suffrage. Mr. Fox, in the memorable speech which he made on that occasion, declared that it was absolutely essential to a plan of reform. His words are so terse and apposite that I am sure you will forgive me for reading them to you. [Hear, hear.] "I think that to extend the right of election to housekeepers, is the best and most advisable plan of reform. I think, also, that it is the most perfect recurrence to first principles. I do not mean the first principles of society—nor to the abstract principles of representation—but to the *first known and recorded principles of our Constitution.*" —I can also refer, in addition to those authorities, to the recorded decisions of the House of Commons, who have twice decided that household suffrage was by the law of the land the common right of every inhabitant. The House of Commons' decisions have twice declared that "of common right all the inhabitant householders and residents within the borough ought to have a voice in the election." In therefore advocating household suffrage, I only propose that which would be a recurrence to the best principles of the constitution, and which has been supported and enforced by some of the wisest and greatest men this country has produced. I need not detain you with regard to the proposition for shortening the duration of Parliament; we are all agreed as to the necessity that exists for such a measure. [Cheers.] With re-

spect to the ballot, I know perfectly well that it has been a disputed point even amongst the best Reformers. (Hear, hear.) I know that some of the most determined and honest Reformers believe that, so far from insuring independence, it would necessarily produce corruption. I mention this to shew that a difference of opinion exists with regard to the ballot, not between me and those who advocate the ballot and the common enemy, but between us and some of our best friends amongst the Reformers. My own opinion is, that the ballot is the surest safeguard against corruption, and the most certain protection for that independent exercise of the right of voting which is absolutely necessary for insuring the rights and liberties of the people. (Cheers.) What I said at Glasgow I now repeat to you—that I am never ashamed of yielding my own opinions to those of my friends—that I do not condemn a compromise when it is necessary to meet the views of the various friends of a measure—that some of the details should be altered in order that the common object of all may be carried. But the species of compromise that I do condemn is, when a measure is altered from its original object to conciliate those who differ from us entirely on the subject. (Cheers.) Such a species of compromise is one that I would never assent to. If at the period of the Glasgow dinner I thought it necessary to recommend union amongst Reformers, how much more necessary do I consider it now, at the present momentous crisis. (Loud cries

of Hear.) We have a great struggle coming on—one that will call for the exercise of the most determined energies we possess, against a powerful and common enemy. (Cheers.) If you will take my advice, you, and all my fellow-countrymen engaged in a common cause, will wave all speculative opinions, and endeavour only to make your force the strongest, and your resistance the most effectual. (Loud cheers.) Gentlemen, my honourable friend has alluded to the Court intrigue which has been displayed in the late events. I cannot describe to you the extent of their infatuation. (Immense cheering.) I confess, however, I am not surprised at it, for I have been too long aware what has been going on in secret. They have only waited for a seasonable time, such as they seem to consider the present, to have the mine explode. (Cheers.) I confess to you that I, for one, do not regret what has taken place. (Cheers.) We, at all events, know against whom we shall have to contend. (Hear.) If the battle is to be fought, as it necessarily now must be, let it, at any rate, be what is called “a fair stand-up fight.” (Continued cheers and laughter.) Let us see who are to be the victors; let us have a clear stage and no favour. (Cheers.) If, indeed, the people of this country are Tories,—if, indeed, they are turned Anti-reformers, the sooner the fact is known the better. (Hear, hear.) Who are those who are about to supply the places of the late Ministry, so contumeliously and insultingly dismissed?

Who are they, but those Tories who have voted, who have struggled, and intrigued against every measure of reform that has been proposed up to the present moment. (Cheers.) These are the persons who are now called to administer the affairs of this empire; and it remains to be proved by your declarations at meetings of this description, and by the result of that dissolution which I think absolutely inevitable, (Cheers,)—it remains, I say, to be proved by such means whether this party possess your confidence, and that of the people of this country, as well as the confidence of the Sovereign. I have observed that our opponents have already put forward two rallying cries, the first of which is, “The Church in danger!” (Great laughter.) What, I ask, do they mean by the word Church? (Hear, hear.) If by it they mean clerical sinecures, pluralities, non-residence, and those disgraceful inequalities which exist in the payment of the working clergy; if these are the things they mean by the word Church, then must I confess that the Church is in danger—very great, very serious, and very imminent danger. (Loud cheers.) But if by the word Church is meant real religion—the pure doctrines of the Protestant faith; if, as I believe, it means the congregation of the faithful; if it means the maintenance of the true and working ministers of religion;—then I say that the Church was never in less danger, and never better supported. I will venture to say, that at no period of the history of

this country were religious principles more widely diffused than at present. I would appeal to the clergy themselves whether such be not the fact? I am glad, indeed, to find that it is so, convinced as I am that no country can ever flourish without religion being deeply impressed on the minds of the people, affording as it does the best security for tranquillity in worldly matters, as well as for eternal happiness hereafter. Another cry is, "The Monarchy in danger!" From whom? [Hear.] I look around to the north, the south, the east, and the west, and I never hear a word uttered bearing the semblance of the shade of a shadow of an objection to monarchical institutions. I never hear any thing approaching to a demand for republican institutions, and wisely, in my opinion, convinced as I am that a constitutional monarchy affords the best security for liberty. [Hear, hear.] I must say, that those are very ill-advisers of the Crown who put such notions into the head of the Sovereign, [Great cheering,]—who attempt to persuade him that the great fund of loyalty which has always existed in this country has suffered a diminution. I believe, in fact, that it prevails more strongly at the present moment than ever it did, and that it is only pent up, and not exhibited, because, in the first place, there is no occasion for calling it forth; and because, in the next, those who ought to excite it have exhibited too little sympathy for the wishes and wants of the people. Neither of these two cries is well founded; neither

the Crown nor the Church is in danger ; but I will tell you what is in danger—the oligarchy. [Great cheering.] The fact is, that for a long period of time, in former days, in the days of George III. and George IV., the Sovereign of this country was entirely in the hands of a faction. He was, in fact, a mere puppet, to be moved according to their wishes ; and all power and all honours were wielded entirely for the benefit of the faction itself. The Reform Bill gave them a death-blow, and now they are about to try a last struggle to endeavour to regain that power which it wrested from them. After we had destroyed their strongholds, after their fortresses had fallen successively, they have pitched upon a great military commander, to come forward and arrest the progress of that reform under whose exterminating hand corporation abuses, church abuses, and all other abuses in the institutions of the country, were about to be swept away. However, this great military commander will find it to have been much easier to take Badajos and Ciudad Rodrigo than to retake the liberties and independence of the people. [Great cheering.] I say that, in my opinion, he will utterly fail in such an attempt: I mistake my countrymen much if it can be otherwise. Tory success is incompatible with the power that the Reform Bill has given you, with the liberal spirit which prevails throughout the country, and with the mighty influence exercised by an able press. I repeat, that under such circumstances, it will be utterly impos-

sible for this Tory military commander to succeed in this anti-constitutional war. To follow up the military metaphor I have employed, I suppose that if he takes upon himself the conduct of affairs, he and his party will open with a plan of their campaign. It is possible enough that, finding that the temper of the country will not admit of an obstruction of reform, this party may appear in another and a new character. They may, perhaps, put themselves forward as Liberals and Reformers. [A laugh.] Now I cannot conceive any thing that would be more disgusting or disgraceful than such an abandonment of principles, by one whom I have heard over and over again oppose Reform, in the House of Lords, and whom I heard with astonishment declare, before Reform was carried, that if he were called upon to frame a constitution, he could not frame a more perfect one than that which then existed. It is possible, however, that the Tories may appear before us like wolves in sheep's clothing, [a laugh,] but I think you will agree with me, that if ever such a thing should take place, it would be most disgusting to behold such a disgraceful abandonment of principle; and I am sure that such a step would be calculated to destroy the character of public men in the eyes of the people. [Hear.] No, if we are to have a Tory Government, let it be a downright, honest, high Church, anti-reforming Tory Administration. Such a Government would be an intelligible one. We should know how to

deal with it. But let us have no mongrel one. Let us not have a government calling itself Tory, and acting upon reforming principles, merely for the sake of Downing-street and quarter-day. Gentlemen, I have alluded to the rallying cries of the enemy; may I venture to tell you what ought to be ours? Let ours be—Reform, Liberty, and the Constitution. [Immense cheering.] Let us throw aside all petty differences, and be prepared for the coming struggle. [Cheers.] Let us form associations [Immense cheering,] in every town, in every village in the empire. How have the Tories succeeded but by union and combination? Let us take a lesson out of their book. Let us show them that the people of England not only possess feelings and principles, but that they also possess a fixed determination to maintain their own rights and the constitution of the country. [Cheers.] It is as clear to me as the sun at noon-day that a dissolution of Parliament must take place, that the last card in their desperate game must be played by the Tories. They probably reckon upon securing majorities in the counties, in consequence of the 50*l.* tenant-at-will clause. I know also that some of the schedule B towns, in consequence of the non-payment of rates and other circumstances, have become little better than rotten boroughs. They now possibly reckon upon majorities there. I will grant to them the utmost extent of support that they may thus obtain in a new House of Commons, and yet we shall be able to beat them.

Their hopes of success, founded on the ridiculous idea of a re-action, will prove utterly fallacious. We certainly have great power opposed to us. We have against us the Court and the Peers, but we have for us the Commons and the People. [Immense cheering.] Whenever the struggle shall take place between two such opposing powers, it requires little foresight to see upon what side success will attend. Gentlemen, I ought to apologise for having detained you at such length, [Cries of No, no,] and for having gone into so minute a discussion on the various points to which I have alluded; but if a reference to them was ever necessary, it is on the present occasion. This is nearly the first great public meeting, I believe, that has taken place in this part of the country since the late extraordinary event. I cannot say that it is the first, for I understand that our friends and fellow-reformers of Hull have already had a meeting, and addressed the Crown with regard to an event that has plunged the country into dismay from one end of it to the other. I have been thus explicit in stating to you my views, and I call upon you, and my countrymen at large, to arm for one of the deadliest struggles that has ever occurred in the history of this country, and which must inevitably take place. I call upon my countrymen, from one end of the kingdom to the other, to express, with one voice, their fixed determination never to rest satisfied until their liberties are secured, and all those reforms obtained which the Reform Bill—itsself only

a means to an end—places within our reach. Preserving all loyalty to the King, let us show him at the same time, that if he be disposed to place confidence in a particular party and class of politicians, we, on the other hand, will exercise our right of expressing our disapproval of such men and their measures, and our determination to oppose them to the utmost of our power. [Cheers.] I will only say, in conclusion, that my humble services may be commanded by you and my country at all times, and that I shall be always happy to co-operate with you in the ranks, or in any situation in which I may be considered to be capable of producing benefit. [Cheers.] No feelings that I may entertain with regard to any individual, or any set of men, shall prevent me from doing that which it is my determination to do, namely, to join you heart and soul in the assertion of your rights. [Immense cheers.]

THE LAST WORDS THAT I HAVE UTTERED NATURALLY PREPARE YOU FOR THE TOAST THAT I AM ABOUT TO GIVE, AND WHICH I AM SURE YOU WILL RECEIVE WITH THE SAME HEARTY AND CORDIAL CHEERS WITH WHICH YOU RECEIVED THE HEALTH OF THAT HOPE OF THE COUNTRY, THE PRINCESS

VICTORIA. [Great Cheering.] I CALL UPON YOU, AS
 MY LEARNED FRIEND, THE CHAIRMAN, THEN CALLED
 UPON YOU, TO RECEIVE WITH TRUE BRITISH CHEERS
 THE TOAST I NOW GIVE NOW, NAMELY—

“UNION AMONGST ALL REFORMERS.”

THIS TOAST WAS DRUNK WITH THE GREATEST
 ENTHUSIASM.

SPEECH

ON THE SAME OCCASION,

When proposing as a Toast, "Prosperity to the French Nation."

LORD DURHAM said, I shall take this opportunity of requesting the permission of the Chairman to propose a toast ; and I shall make no apology for detaining you in so doing—because I know and feel that you come here not merely to do honour to me as an individual, but to express your opinions and to hear the opinions of others. This I apprehend to be a great public meeting for the purpose of political discussion ; and I therefore make no apology for directing your attention to the consideration of great public matters. The toast to which I allude is one connected with another country ; and the observations which I feel it necessary to make will bear reference to those which fell from me on a late occasion, and which have had the honour of receiving, as I am

told, a reply from a high official authority in that country—I mean the observations I made at Glasgow, in proposing a toast in favour of an extended commercial intercourse between this country and France. (Cheers.) I, as an Englishman, naturally expressed my anxiety for the increase and continuance of that intercourse; and those observations have been met, by an individual on the other side of the channel—by M. Thiers himself—in a spirit which requires a few remarks from me. In the first place, the French people have been told, by way of diverting their attention from the facts I stated,—and which prove the interest they have in the extension of commerce,—that I have a personal interest in the question, and that therefore they ought to regard with suspicion any remarks that fall from me. Now if I even had any such interest that would not at all diminish the force of my argument. (Cheers) If the supply of the article coal be necessary to the people of France, it is of little importance from whom it is obtained. But the fact is exactly the reverse of what it is represented. (Hear, hear.) I, of all men connected with the coal trade of the Tyne and Wear, have the least reason to be affected by the exportation of coal abroad. The opening of the trade with France might, and I doubt not would, be of immense advantage to Newcastle,---as the collieries on the Tyne are those which produce the description of coal that is sent to France; it would employ your shipping and benefit seamen to a great extent.

But the coals produced from my collieries are not of that description ; and if the French government will abolish the restrictions on commerce between the two countries, I am willing to engage never to send them a single chaldron of coals. (Cheers and laughter.) Some other observations made by that respectable gentleman shew the principles on which French statesmen act, and suppose others to act in the management of affairs in this country. The article in the *Journal des Debats* is said to have emanated from a member of a Ministry which did not live more than two days after its publication, and was succeeded by another that existed only 24 hours, which, in its turn, has been succeeded by God knows who ; but as the individual to whom I allude may again fill a high official situation in that country, and as he does me the honour of deeming what I say worthy of his notice, I beg his particular attention to what I am about to observe. This gentleman asks, where I have learnt that there would be turbulence and insurrection in France, unless the demand for Free Trade were conceded. Where indeed did I learn, and where did I express it ? The fact is, the politicians of that school never believe that any thing can be proposed by any person except for self-interest, or be carried but by brute force. The observations I made referred not to the effect that was likely to be produced on the population of the South of France, but in the Chamber of Deputies, by the return to it of 50 or 60 Members favourable to the

Free Trade. (Cheers.) My belief is that whatever changes may take place in the government of the two countries, it is absolutely impossible, from the feeling and spirit that exists amongst their people, to prevent the extension of commerce between them. (Cheers.) Even in the late Chamber of Deputies, the declarations of two Committees have been pronounced in favour of Free Trade. (Hear.) The Committees of Finance and of Receipts have both declared against the restrictions on commerce; and every person who is acquainted with the constitution of the French Chamber must be aware of the importance of this fact. Reports have been presented from Havre, from Bordeaux--in short from all the towns of the South and South-west of France---all praying for free commerce with England, and not one of them tinged with any political colouring. (Hear, hear.) Allow me to point out the advantage that would accrue from the extension of commerce between the two countries. The internal trade of the two countries---estimating the population of Great Britain at 24 and that of France at 33 millions, amounts to 100 millions per annum---each party trading only amongst themselves. Now let me ask what would be the result if those 57 millions of people were trading with each other, instead of trading with themselves? (Loud cries of Hear, hear.) My object is to impress upon you, and the governments of the two countries, the importance of extending their commerce, thus preventing the scourge of

war being brought into action between them, and ensuring the general peace of Europe. (Loud cheers.) It must produce that diffusion of habits, principles, and feelings, between the two countries, which cannot but have the most beneficial effect. These opinions I have always advocated—not with any exclusive or personal object, but for the general advantage and happiness of the people of the two countries. (Cheers.) At an earlier part of the evening, I might have expatiated at much greater length, and stated other facts which bear out my views, but at this moment I will not trouble you by doing so, and therefore conclude by calling upon you to drink—
 “Prosperity to the French Nation!”

FINIS.

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